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OF THE
A D M I R A L S

And other EMINENT

British S E A M E N.

CONTAINING

Their Personal HISTORIES, and a Detail of all
their Public SERVICES.

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the earliest Accounts of Time ; and clearly
proving, by a continued Series of Facts, our
uninterrupted Claim to, and Enjoyment of,
the Dominion of our S E A S.

INTERSPERSED

With many curious PASSAGES relating to our Dis-
COVERIES, PLANTATIONS, and COMMERCE.

The whole supported by proper Authorities.

By JOHN CAMPBELL, Esq;

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corrected, and enlarged throughout.

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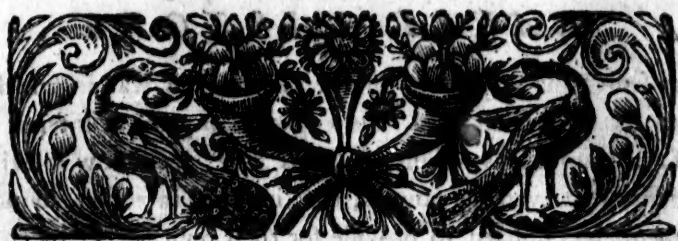
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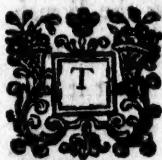


L I V E S
OF THE
ADMIRALS, &c.

Including a New and Accurate
NAVAL HISTORY, &c.

C H A P. I.

*The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN,
under the Reign of King WILLIAM III.
from the Revolution, to the Peace of Ryswick.*



HE crown was no sooner placed on the head of the prince of *Orange*, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience the cares that attend it: he had not so much as leisure to taste in peace, the first moments of royalty, but found himself obliged to embark in a war,

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* Kennet, Burchet, Rapin, Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, life of king William, Columna rostrata.

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as soon as he was seated on the throne. A war in which all *Europe* was engaged, and engaged in point of interest ; for the ambitious designs of *Lewis XIV.* were now so evident, that even the powers, least inclined to action, found themselves obliged to provide for their own safety, by entering into a confederacy for the more effectually opposing the encroachments of that aspiring prince. The *French* king, on the other hand, instead of discovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began first ; by falling upon the empire, and declaring war against *Spain*, at the same time that he provided for his ally, king *James*, whom he sent over into *Ireland*, with a considerable force, escorted by a fleet of twenty-two sail of men of war ^b.

It was upon this occasion, that the ill management in the two last reigns, in respect to the correspondence held between our princes and the *French* king, manifestly appeared, by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the administration of the great cardinal *Richelieu*, *France* was so weak in this respect, that this high-spirited minister was forced, in very pressing terms, to solicit assistance from the *Swedes* ^c ; and, even in this reign, the protector *Cromwell*, had shewn the utmost contempt for the *French* power at sea. To speak the truth, it was our wars with the *Dutch*, in the reign of king *Charles II.* that, as the *French* themselves confess, gave them first an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were

^b Histoire militaire du regne de Louis le Grand, par M. le marquis de Quincy ; histoire de France, par P. Daniel. ^c As to this fact, we find it in the cardinal's letters, vol. ii. p. 144.

were little acquainted. This knowledge they so far improved, by sometimes siding with the *Dutch*, and sometimes with us, that in the space of less than twenty years, they found themselves able to encounter either nation, and in 1676, actually beat the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and killed the famous admiral *de Ruyter*^d.

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^d The inquisitive reader may find a succinct view of the rise and progress of the French naval power, under the reign of Lewis XIV. in the 7 chap. of the xiv. book of father Daniel's *histoire de la milite Françoise*. But, to place this matter in the clearest light, and to give the English reader a competent idea of the French force at sea, as well as to enable him to judge for himself, (which none of our naval writers have done) of the comparative strength of English and French fleets and squadrons, I shall here give an exact abstract of the state of the French fleet, as it stood in 1681; and it was yet in a better condition at the beginning of the war, to which recourse may be had on all occasions.

ABSTRACT of the FRENCH FLEET.

| Rates. | Force. | Number. | Cannon. | Superior Officers. | Naval Officers. | Seamen. | Soldiers. | Whole Crew. |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------|---------|--------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| 1 | 120 to 70 guns | 12 | 1080 | 108 | 1232 | 4132 | 2486 | 7850 |
| 2 | 70 to 56 | 21 | 1518 | 189 | 1719 | 4470 | 2661 | 8850 |
| 3 | 56 to 40 | 36 | 1928 | 251 | 2350 | 6142 | 3008 | 11500 |
| 4 | 40 to 30 | 26 | 1088 | 156 | 1167 | 2713 | 1570 | 5450 |
| 5 | 30 to 18 | 20 | 608 | 119 | 681 | 1427 | 682 | 2790 |
| Total | | 115 | 6222 | 823 | 7149 | 18884 | 10407 | 36440 |
| Light frigates 20 to 16 | | 24 | 400 | 125 | 446 | 937 | 497 | 1880 |
| Bomb vessels and fireships | | 8 | 74 | 16 | 80 | 160 | | 240 |
| Barks | | 10 | 43 | 20 | 90 | 190 | | 280 |
| Flutes | | 22 | 341 | 44 | 190 | 447 | | 637 |
| Total | | 179 | 7080 | 1028 | 7955 | 20618 | 10904 | 39477 |

Exclusive of thirty gallies, on board which were above three thousand men.

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At this time, they were grown so much stronger, that we shall see them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to contest the empire of the sea, against the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is sufficient to shew, with how great disadvantage king *William* entered into the war, in this respect; since, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring supplies into *Ireland*, his affairs in *England* were so perplexed, that it was some time before he could provide a force sufficient to cruize on the coast of that island.

At last, admiral *Herbert*, who commanded the *English* fleet, in the beginning of the month of *April* 1689, sailed for *Cork*, with a squadron which consisted of no more than twelve ships of war, one fire-ship, two yachts, and two smacks. Here he received information, that king *James* landed at *Kinsale*, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convoy that had attended him from *France*: with this view, he sailed for *Brest*, and cruized off that port for some time; but hearing nothing of the *French* men of war, from the advice boats he daily received, and having encreased his force to nineteen sail, (of which, however, one was but a small frigate) he again steered for the *Irish* coast, and towards the latter end of *April*, appeared off *Kinsale*. On the twenty-ninth of that month, he discovered a fleet of forty-four sail, which he judged were going into *Kinsale*, and therefore did his utmost to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into *Baltimore*; but, upon coming thither, found the information false. The wind being then easterly, he stood for *Cape-Clear*, and in the evening, he saw them standing into *Bantry Bay*. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day, resolved

solved to attack the enemy^e. All our *English* writers of naval history agree, that the *French* fleet had some empty transports under their care; but the *French* writers, who should certainly best know what their fleet was doing, say positively, that they had only four merchant-ships laden with arms, bridles, saddles, powder, and ball, for the use of king *James's* army, and a considerable sum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they shipped as soon as they perceived the *English* fleet, on board six fire-ships, and sent these, with the merchant-men before-mentioned, to land the supply at a place in the bay, seven leagues distant, while they engaged the *English*^f squadron, that at all events they might be safe.

AUTHORS vary not a little as to the strength of both fleets; which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. *Burchet* says, the *English* were but nineteen ships in all. Bishop *Kennet* more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the *French* relations^h. The enemy's fleet consisted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of twenty-four sail.

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^e Burchet's naval history, p. 416. Lediard's naval history, p. 623. *Columna rostrata*. ^f *Histoire militaire*, vol. ii. p. 149. ^g See his naval history as above cited. My reason for saying what I do, in the text, is my observing, that both the accounts may be very well reconciled. Burchet speaking only of the large ships, and the other writers of all in general, under admiral Herbert's command. ^h See his complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 531. where he tells us, that the *English* fleet consisted of eight third rates, ten fourth, and two fifth, with two tenders. The marquis de Quincy informs us, that the *French* fleet consisted, exclusive of the vessels under

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The *English* had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had so pleased ; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral *Herbert's* temper : he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement ; but the *French* saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions, about ten in the morning on the first of *May*. The first division consisted of eight ships, under the command of Mr. *Gaberet* ; the second, of the like force, was commanded by admiral *Chateau-Renault* ; the third, which was also of eight ships, had for its commander Mr. *Forant* ; the fight was pretty warm for about two hours ; but then slackened, because a great part of the *English* fleet could not come up ; but they continued firing on both sides, till about five in the afternoon, admiral *Herbert* keeping out all the time to sea, because he found the dispute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could possibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But, about the hour before-mentioned, the *French* fleet stood into the Bay, which put an end to the fight. The *English* writers ascribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being restrained by his orders ; but the *French* inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ships under his convoy ; and that after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did ^k.

THIS

der their convoy, of fifteen third, and nine fourth rates ; and in this, all the French writers agree.

^k It must be acknowledged, that the French speak in too high terms of this trivial success : the fleet, says M. Quincy, was out but

THIS is the battle in *Bantry Bay*, which, though inconsiderable enough in itself, (since the *English*, who had certainly the worst of it, lost only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men, and had about three hundred wounded) is yet magnified by some writers, as a mighty action. The *French* had one ship, called the *Diamond*, set on fire, and two others so much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconsiderable, and any advantage that was gained, was rather to be ascribed to a favourable wind, and superior force on one side, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other¹. After the action, admiral *Herbert* bore away for the *Scilly islands*, and having cruized there for some time, returned to *Spithead*; upon which occasion, king *William* himself came down to *Portsmouth*, where, to shew he would distinguish and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by success, he declared admiral *Herbert*, earl of *Torrington*, and knighted captain *John Ashby*, of the *Defiance*, and captain *Cloudefley Shovel*, of the *Edgar*, giving at the same time, a bounty of ten shillings to each seamen, and making a provision for the widows of such as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by king *William*, and was indeed an act of his

but twelve days; in which short space, they landed what they carried, in Ireland, beat the English fleet, and made seven Dutch prizes. On the other hand, our authors are fond of charging some mismanagement on the French admiral: whereas, in truth, he did his duty very exactly; and Quincy, and the other French writers complain, that for want of the fire-ships, he was unable to prosecute the advantages he had gained; which seems to be matter of fact. ¹ The reader may consult Kennet, Burnet, and Burchet, who have all given their opinions on this side the question.

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his own, flowing from the knowledge he had of mankind, and the necessity there is of keeping up the spirits of seamen, if we expect they should perform great things. He said, when he read the account of the battle of *Bantry Bay*, that such actions were necessary at the beginning of a war, though they would be rash in the course of it; which shews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral *Herbert* a peer, after an affair, in which he had certainly no advantage^m.

THE fleet being at length refitted, the admiral sailed with it for *Torbay*, in the middle of *June*, where he was afterwards joined by a *Dutch* fleet, and by vice-admiral *Killegrew's* squadron, which had been cruising before *Dunkirk*. This joint fleet stood over to the coast of *France*, and continued cruising there, and in the soundings, 'till towards the latter end of *August*; and being then in great want of beer, and there being no appearance of the *French* putting to sea, they returned to *Torbay*, where soon after the fleet separated; the larger ships, which wanted repair, being ordered into port, and the rest distributed into several squadrons, for different servicesⁿ. Before we speak more particularly of these, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by some other squadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

WHEN

^m Life of king William. Burchet's memoirs. ⁿ Burchet's naval history, p. 417. Bishop Burnet complains, that this year there was nothing considerable done at sea; and, according to his manner, insinuates I know not what of treason, or treachery, or something very black in it. But the truth seems to be the funds were late settled, and the government itself but half settled; which occasioned the fleets being ill mann'd, poorly victualled, and worse paid.

Of King WILLIAM III. 11

WHEN king *James* landed in *Ireland*, his affairs had certainly a very promising aspect on that side. He brought with him a very considerable supply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men. There were but two places in the north which held out against him, viz. *London-Derry* and *Ineskillin*. Of these, he determined to make himself master, and might easily have done it, if he had been well advised; but, as bishop *Burnet* justly observes, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils. He resolved to begin with *London-Derry*, in respect to which, two proposals were made him; the first was, to attack the place vigorously, and take it as soon as possible, by storm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in such a manner, as might best suit his interest, 'till this place was by dint of famine compelled to surrender. Either of these methods might have succeeded; but king *James* declined these, and made choice of a third, which was, to take the place by a slow siege, in order to enure his *Irish* army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of discipline, more fit for service. This resolution of his, gave time for an application to the government in *England*: and upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel *Cunningham* and colonel *Richards*, with some supplies, were sent thither: they arrived on the fifteenth of *April* in the *Lough*; but colonel *Lundy*, who was governor of the town, being, as it was believed, in king *James's* interest, persuaded those gentlemen, that it was a thing impracticable to defend the place; and that therefore the best thing they could do, was to return and secure his majesty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townsmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble

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noble defence, which gained time for another application to England^o.

DURING this space, commodore *Rooke*, who had been sent with a squadron in the month of *May*, to the coast of *Ireland*, performed good service there, by keeping king *James* and his army from having any intercourse with the *Scots*; and on the eighth of *June*, he sailed in with the *Bonaventure*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, and a fleet of transport-ships, under the command of major-general *Kirke*, who was come with this force to relieve *London-Derry*. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very chearfully in carrying on this service. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy, to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom cross the river, composed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being strong redoubts at each end well furnished with cannon. Upon a view of this, general *Kirke* resolved to make himself master of the *Inch*, an island in *Lough Swille*, in which the commodore assisted him so effectually, that on the sixteenth, he was in full possession, not only of that island, but of the pass to the main; and having performed this service, he returned to his station.

HE continued there till the twenty-second, on which day he received by the *Portland* man of war, a letter from the

* Dr. Walker, who was governor of *London-Derry*, published an exact account of the siege, under the title of "A true account of the siege of *London-Derry*. London, 4^{to}. 1690. " 59 pages." Afterwards he wrote a vindication of this account, and from these, Burnet's history, and the detail I have had from living witnesses, I report these facts. P Burchet's naval history, p. 418. Columna rostrata.

the general, wherein he informed him, that being satisfied the place was reduced to the last extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this, left the *Bonaventure* and *Portland* upon his station, and, with the *Deptford* and *Dartmouth*, he sailed to the assistance of the major-general. He sent the *Dartmouth* up to *Kilmore*, to receive his orders, and then returned to the *Bonaventure* and *Portland*, with intention to continue there 'till the arrival of the three ships he expected from the earl of *Torrington*. With this assistance, major-general *Kirke*, having properly disposed the men of war, on the thirtieth of *July*, sent the *Mountjoy* of *Derry*, captain *Browning*, and the *Phoenix* of *Colrain*, captain *Douglas*, both deeply laden with provisions, under the convoy of the *Dartmouth* frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon these ships, as they passed, which was very briskly returned, 'till the *Mountjoy* struck against the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run ashore; upon this, the *Irish* gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon them, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the sailors firing a broadside, however, the shock loosened her so, that they floated again, and passed the boom, as did the *Phoenix* also, under cover of the *Dartmouth's* fire. This seasonable supply, saved the remains of the garrison, which, after a hundred and five days close siege, and being reduced from seven thousand five hundred, to four thousand three hundred, had subsistence for only two days left, the enemy raising the siege on the last of *July*.

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¹ Dr. Walker's account, p. 33. which agrees exactly with the French relation of the siege by Quincy, hist. milit. vol. ii. p.

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COMMODORE *Rooke*, on the thirteenth of *August*, convoyed the duke of *Schomberg's* army, consisting of upwards of ten thousand men, horse and foot, embarked in ninety vessels of several sorts, and landed them safe near *Carrickfergus*, whither he brought the remainder of the army, and the artillery; and then continued with the general, till he had taken the town, and had no further occasion for his assistance. He next stationed as many ships and yachts of his squadron, as he thought requisite for maintaining the correspondence between *England* and *Ireland*, and preventing any attempt that might be made by *French* or *Scots* privateers. He sailed next with a few ships that were remaining, to *Dublin*, where he insulted the city, by manning his boats, and making a shew of landing; and on the eighteenth of *September*, he actually endeavoured to burn all the vessels that were in the harbour; and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a fresh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his design, and to put to sea. King *James* was at this time in the place, and an eye-witness of this bold attempt. From *Dublin*, commodore *Rooke* sailed to *Cork*, where he also attempted going into the harbour; but was prevented by the brisk fire the enemy made

233. Bishop Burnet accuses (though without reason) major-general Kirke, for not relieving them sooner. Indeed there is no escaping this prelate's resentment; for if an officer miscarries, 'tis through his own ill conduct; and if he succeeds, he might have done it sooner, had he been hearty. The truth is, the general thought the business impracticable, but was determined to make some attempt, when he understood the besieged fatted their dogs on the bodies of the slain Irish, and then killed those animals, and eat them themselves. See Kennet, life of King William.

made from their batteries, on which were mounted seventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took possession, however, of the great island, and might have done further services, if his ships had not by this time grown foul, and his provisions low; which forced him to quit his station, and repair to the *Downs*, where he arrived on the thirteenth of *October*, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earnest of the great things, which he afterwards performed when sir *George Rooke*, and admiral in chief of the *British fleet*.

As to the remaining services of this year, they were not either many or great; and therefore I shall only mention the taking of two celebrated sea-officers in the *French* service, viz. the celebrated chevalier *de Fourbin*, and the famous *John Bart*. They commanded two small frigates, and under their convoy, six rich merchant-men, outward bound. Near the *isle of Wight*, they were chased by two of our fifty gun ships, which they engaged very bravely, though they say that it was a thing impossible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at, was, to give their merchant-men time to escape, in which they succeeded; for while they fought desperately, the vessels under their convoy got safe into *Rochel*. As for the chevalier *de Fourbin*, and captain *Bart*, they were carried prisoners into *Plymouth*, from whence they not long after found means to escape, and get over to *Calais*^f. For this generous action, the *French* king rewarded each of them with the command

^{*} Burchet's naval history. Kennet. History of the reduction of Ireland, p. 39. Lediard. ^f Histoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 232.

mand of a man of war: but our writers of naval history, have been so careless, that I cannot find with any certainty, who were the captains that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in *Fourbin's* memoirs, wherein it is said, they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours; and that one of the *English* captains was killed in the engagement; but I think the story, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiassed, and at the same time a very accurate historian.

In the sessions of parliament, in the winter of 1689, there were many complaints made of the conduct of affairs at sea, which bore hard on the new commission of admiralty, composed of the earl of *Torrington*, the earl of *Carbery*, Sir *Michael Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *John Chicheley*, Sir *John Lowther*, and Mr. *Sacheverell*, who, in defence of their own characters, laid open their miscarriages in the victualling-office, which produced a parliamentary enquiry into that affair, and a resolution of the house of commons, “that sir *John Parsons*, sir *Richard Haddock*, admiral “*Stuart*, and Mr. *Nicholas Fenn*, victuallers of the fleet, “should be sent for, in the custody of the serjeant at arms, “to answer to the said complaint.” But, notwithstanding an exact scrutiny into that affair produced a full discovery

* The memoirs which pass under the name of count *Fourbin*, abound with such exaggerated relations, and therefore I must own I suspect their credit. As to the work of the marquis de *Quincy*, it is one of the best in its kind, written with care and exactness, from good authorities; and for this reason, the authors of modern memoirs, such as those of marshal *Villars*, the duke of *Berwick*, and M. de *Gué Trouin*, transcribe it continually.

very of great mischiefs, occasioned by the bad victualling of the fleet, yet the spirit raised against the administration grew so strong, that it was thought necessary for the earl of Torrington to resign his office of first commissioner, to allay it; and he was succeeded therein by Thomas earl of Pembroke, which answered the end effectually, and gave the nation great satisfaction^u.

I shall open the naval transactions of 1690, with an account of admiral Ruffel's sailing into the *Mediterranean*, though this is, generally speaking, accounted a transaction of the former year; but my reason for placing it here, is the not sailing of the fleet 'till the spring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majesty, Charles II. having espoused a princess of the house of *Neubourg*, sister to the reigning empress, and to the queen of *Portugal*, demanded an *English* fleet to convoy her safely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed such a compliment never had been refused even to states in war with us, because it was taken as a tacit confession of our dominion at sea; which might, methinks, have secured it from bishop Burnet's censure^w. On the twenty-fourth of *November*, admiral Ruffel sailed with seven large men of war, and two yachts, to *Flushing*, in order to receive her catholic majesty, and her attendants; and had orders, as soon as the queen came on board, to hoist the

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^u Kennet, Burnet, Pointer's chronological history, &c. ^w History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 49. The propriety of this piece of complaisance, will more clearly appear, if we consider, that it obliged the house of Austria; was a proper return, for the assistance given king William by that queen's relations; and was besides, as things were then circumstanced, a necessary and important service to the grand alliance.

union flag at the main-top-mast head, and to wear it there as long as her majesty was on board. On the eighteenth of *January*, 169c, she arrived in the *Downs*; on the twenty-fourth, she came to *St. Helens*, whither their majesties, king *William* and queen *Mary*, sent the duke of *Norfolk* to complement her, as did their royal highnesses the prince and princess of *Denmark*, the lord *Cornbury*, and colonel *Berkley*^x. The admiral had orders to put to sea with the first fair wind, and was instructed to block up the harbour of *Toulon*, in order to prevent the *French* squadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it in the beginning of *February*, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to *Torbay*, on the twenty-third. Thence he sailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the second of *March*. At last he sailed with a pretty fair wind, on the seventh of that month, with a stout squadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchant-men, bound for the streights; and after a very tempestuous passage, landed her catholic majesty on the sixteenth, at the *Groyne*; from whence he failed to execute his other commission, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of *Perrol*, where the *Duke*, a second rate man of war, in a brisk gale of wind, ran ashore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral, having executed his commission, and having left vice-admiral *Killegrew*, with the *Mediterranean* squadron, behind him, bore away with the first fair wind for *England*,
and

^x Kennet, Life of king William; Pointer's chronological history.

and arrived at *Portsmouth* on the twenty-eighth of *April*, where he landed several persons of quality who had attended her catholick majesty in her voyage^y.

THE reader will easily discern, from this account of the matter, that admiral *Ruffel* performed as much as the roughness of the season, and other circumstances considered, could be expected from him. Bishop *Burnet* however, suggests, that if it had not been for the care he was obliged to take of the queen of *Spain*, he might have blocked up the *Toulon* squadron in port, and thereby prevented the misfortune that afterwards happened to our grand fleet^z; but I doubt, if we examine this to the bottom, it will be found a mere conjecture, and that too, not very well founded. We have before observed, with how great difficulty admiral *Ruffel* got with his fleet out to sea, and how late it was in the year. We have likewise mentioned the great fleet of merchant-men under his convoy; and taking these circumstances together, we may easily discern the reason of the *Toulon* squadron's coming out, which was in the beginning of the month of *May*, without placing any thing to the account of the compliment paid to the queen of *Spain*, which as I before observed, was a thing equally for the honour and interest of *Britain*; and the consciousness of this was what induced me to enter thus far into the justification of vice-admiral *Ruffel*'s conduct.

VICE-admiral *Killegrew* arrived at *Cadiz* on the eighth of *April*, where having, according to his instructions, taken all possible care of the trade, and having been joined

B 2 by

^y Burchet's naval history, p. 421, 422. Kennet, Columna rostrata.

^z Burnet's History of his own times, vol. ii. ubi supra.

by two *Dutch* men of war, the *Guelderland* and *Zurickzee*, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the *Toulon* squadron. In this, however, he met with no small difficulty, by reason of the stormy weather, which injured several ships of his squadron extremely, and the two *Dutch* ships, or seventy-two, and the other of sixty-two guns, after losing all their masts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing these unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was wasted ; and so much the more through the coldness and inactivity of the governor of *Cadiz*, who, for his negligence in this respect, was justly suspected of being in the *French* interest. Before things, through these disadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice-admiral, on the ninth of *May*, received three different accounts of the *Toulon* squadron's being at sea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that pursuant to his instructions, he should immediately put to sea, in order to go in search of it. On the tenth of *May*, about four in the morning, he sailed accordingly, with nine *English*, and two *Dutch* ships, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the *Streights*, where he was joined by captain *Shelton*, and his detachment, from the bay of *Gibraltar*, and at the same time received intelligence, that the *French* fleet was in the bay of *Tetuan*, thither he sailed in quest of them ; his fleet consisting now of one second rate, three third rates, six fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all, twelve men of war, and two fire-ships, besides five *Dutch* men of war. On his arrival in *Tetuan-Bay*, he found only two ships, one at anchor and the other under sail ; the latter put out *Algerine* colours, and escaped ; but the former being embayed, was taken by the *Dutch*

vice

vice-admiral *Allemonde*, and proved to be a *French* ship bound for the *West-Indies*.^a

THE wind shifting, the admiral stood over again towards the *Spanish* coast, and being two leagues W. N. W. off *Ceuta* point, the man at the mast-head saw ten ships to the north, with their heads lying eastwards. Upon this, advice was given to the *Dutch* admiral, and the *Montague* was sent a-head to discover the enemies motions; the fleet still continuing to stretch over to *Gibraltar*. About one o'clock, they were within two miles of the *French* squadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ships set their top-gallant sails, and crowded after them; but to little purpose, for the *French* being all clean ships, just come out of port (whereas some of ours had been seventeen months off the ground) it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chase was continued till the next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the *Dutch* and one of the *English* ships as much: stern, insomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ships, which induced him to give over the chase; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the *Richmond* and the *Tyger* forced one of the merchant-ships on shore to the westward of *Tariffa*. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for *Cadiz*.^b

THE *French* writers have done their best to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. *Chateau-Renault*, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant-ships under his con-

B 3 voy,

^a Burchet's memoirs, 8vo. 1703. p. 37. *Columna rostrata*.
^b Burchet's memoirs, p. 37. *Naval history*, p. 424.

voy, to sail before, while he remained with his Squadron of eight men of war, between them and the *English*; and that after this, perceiving one of the vessels, which was a very bad sailor, had fallen behind, he lay by 'till she passed him, and then, perceiving the *English* Squadron did not incline to engage, he continued his course^c. But father *Daniel*, who piques himself so much upon his veracity, carries the thing still farther; he says, that on the twentieth of *May*, N. S. the *French* admiral, with seven ships under his command, discovered near the Streights of *Gibraltar*, a Squadron of twenty-three *English* and *Dutch* men of war. He immediately prepared for battle, and sailed towards them. This boldness of his surprized them so much, that they had not courage to attack him; and the count, after waiting for two of his ships that were heavy sailers, and for some merchant-men that were willing to secure themselves under his convoy, continued his route towards *Brest*, without the least opposition^d. There is something so very improbable, not to say extravagant, in this story, that there wanted nothing but the historian's reflection to render it perfectly ridiculous. He concludes this tedious detail, with observing, "that the very enemy themselves could not but admire the ability and intrepidity of the count de *Chatteau-Renault*." Such flourishes are so natural to these authors, that, after a very few instances, I shall content myself with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid consideration of every impartial reader.

It was the twenty-first of *May*, before vice-admiral
Killegrew

^c *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 319.
France, tom. x. p. 155.

^d *Histoire de*

Killegrew could reach the port of *Cadiz*, where having made the necessary detachments for the safe convoy of our homeward bound merchant-men, he, in pursuance of his instructions, set sail for *England*, and in thirty-five days arrived at *Plymouth*, with one second, and four third rates of ours, six *Dutch* men of war, the *Half-Moon*, and *Virgin* prize. On his arrival at *Plymouth*, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the *French*, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about *Rye*, *Dover*, and those parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his squadron. Upon this, he called a council of war, at which were present the *Dutch* admirals, *Allemonde* and *Evertzen*, and sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, then just returned from the *Irish* coast. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was safest to proceed with the ships into *Hamoze*, within *Plymouth-Sound*: for, as they were large ships, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, provisions, and sea-stores, it was impossible for them to put to sea; so that this was the only way left to be secure from any attempts of the *French*.

THE *French* had been very industrious this year, in sending a large fleet to sea, and that early in the season; for on the first or second of *March*, they embarked a great supply for *Ireland*, under the convoy of a squadron of thirty-six men of war, which sailed on the seventh of the same month, attended by four fire-ships, and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another squadron from *Provence*,

* Burchet's memoirs, and naval history, as before cited.

Provence, with several transports; so that in all, they convoyed over six thousand men, besides ammunition and money. Part of these they landed on the eleventh, at *Kinsale*, and the rest on the thirteenth, in the bay of *Cork*. On the eighth of *April*, they left the coasts of that island, in order to return into the road of *Brest*, which they did safely on the twenty-third, and then prepared to join their grand fleet, which had orders to assemble under the command of count de *Tourville*.^f

WHILE the *French* were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on sending over a royal army, to be com-

^f *Histoire Militaire*, tom. ii p. 315, 316, 317. One may justly wonder, how the *French* could be able to fit out, not only a greater fleet than we, but with greater expedition too. In order to account for this, I shall offer to the reader's consideration, some matters of fact, set down by captain George St. Lo, who was at this time a prisoner in France, and saw this very armament made. "When I was first brought prisoner thither, says he, I lay four months in an hospital at *Brest*, for cure of my wounds, and was sent to *Nants*, before half cured. While I was at *Brest*, I was astonished at the expedition used in manning and fitting out their ships, which till then, I thought could be done no where sooner than in England, where we have ten times the shipping, and consequently ten times more seamen than they have in France; but there I saw twenty sail of ships of about sixty guns each, got ready in twenty days time: they were brought in and the men discharged, and upon an order from *Paris*, they were careened, keeled up, rigged, victualled, manned, and out again in the said time, with the greatest ease imaginable. I likewise saw a ship of one hundred guns, had all her guns taken out there in four or five hours time, which I never saw done in England in twenty-four hours, and this with greater ease, and less hazard, than here, which I saw under the hospital window; and this I am sure I could do as easily in England." England's safety; or a bridle to the French king. London, 4to, 1693, p. 18. 19.

commanded by king *William* in person to *Ireland*. This great design was brought to bear, about the beginning of the month of *June*, when his majesty left *London* to march toward the coast, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight transports on the eleventh, and under the convoy of a squadron of six men of war, commanded by sir *Cloudfley Shovel*, sailed for *Carrickfergus*, where he safely arrived on the fourteenth of the same month, and soon after dismissed rear-admiral *Shovel*, with the *Plymouth* squadron, with orders to join the grand fleet; which, as we have before shewn, he could not do, till it was too late.

THERE was nothing better understood in *England*, than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year, a strong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the *French*, after their small advantage in *Bantry-Bay*, had given out, that they would the next summer insult the joint fleets of the *English* and *Dutch*. What was still more, the nation's safety depended on this measure no less, since the king, and the greatest part of his forces were abroad. Scarce seven thousand regular troops left in *England*; and such as were in the interest of king *James*, almost every where in motion, and waiting, in all appearance, for nothing but the sight of a *French* fleet on the coast, to take up arms, and declare against the government. Yet, for all this, our proceedings were very slow, for which, various, and some scarce credible,

8 Kennet's compleat history, vol. iii. p. 558. Burnet, Burchet, Columna rostrata, life of king William.

credible, causes are assigned. It was given out, that the greatest part of the fleet was disaffected; and to wipe of this suggestion, it was thought necessary that an address should be sent up from the *Drunts*, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the *Dutch* sent their fleet to sea, and the *English* knowing that nothing of consequence could be done, 'till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, 'till they heard of their being at sea ^b.

THE conduct of the *French*, in the mean time, was of quite another kind; for while the squadron before-mentioned was gone to *Ireland*, orders were given for equipping a fleet of sixty sail at *Brest*, which was to put to sea by the end of *May*: this they actually did, and though they were forced by contrary winds, to put back again to that road, yet on the twelfth of *June*, they put to sea in three squadrons, each squadron being divided into three divisions. Of these, the *White* and *Blue* squadron, commanded by Count *d'Estrees*, on board the *Le Grande*, a ship of eighty-six guns, formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty-six men of war. The main body was composed of the *White* squadron, commanded by the admiral count *Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun*, a ship of one hundred guns; this squadron consisted likewise of twenty-six sail; the *Blue* squadron made the rear-guard, commanded by Mr. *D'Amfreville*, in the *Magnificent*; a ship of eighty guns, and in this squadron there were but twenty-five sail. In all there were seventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire-ships, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thousand seven hundred

^b Kennet, vol. iii. p. 561. Burnet, Burchet, Quincy, &c.

hundred pieces of cannon. On the thirteenth of *June*, they steered for the *English* coast, and on the twentieth found themselves off the *Lizard*. The next day, the admiral took some *English* fishing boats, and after having paid the people, who were on board, for their fish, he set them at liberty again, and these were the men, such was our supineness! that first brought advice of the arrival of the *French* fleet on our coast; while ours was lying idle and scarce in a condition to put to sea, as bishop *Burnet* very justly observes i.

OUR admiral, the earl of *Torrington*, was at *St. Helens*, when he received this news, which must have surprized him very much, since he was so far from expecting any account of this kind, that he had not any scouts out to the westward^k. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east, on *Midsummer* day, leaving his orders, that all the *English* and *Dutch* ships which could have notice, should follow him. This shews how much he was confused, and how little notion he had of a speedy engagement; and indeed it was impossible that he should have framed any proper scheme of action, when he had no certain account of the strength of the *French*. In the evening he was joined by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The *French* landed, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them, sent a letter from sir *William Jennings*, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king *James*, and

ⁱ *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 318, 319. Kennet, p. 562. *Burnet*, *Memoires historiques*, &c. ^k Kennet, p. 562. *Burnet*, p. 39. *Burchet*, *Columna rostrata*, life of king *William*.

and served now as third captain on board the *Admiral*, promising pardon to all such captains, as would now adhere to that prince^l. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of seven *Dutch* men of war, under the command of admiral *Evertzen*; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days^m. It is certain, that the earl of *Torrington* did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the rest of the admirals, viz. *Ralph Delaval*, esq; vice-admiral of the *Red*; *Edward Ruffel*, esq; admiral of the *Blue*; sir *John Ashby* vice-admiral of the same squadron; and *George Rooke*, esq; rear-admiral of the *Red*, were of the like opinionⁿ. Besides, he waited for sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*, who was to have joined him with the *Plymouth* squadron and some other ships^o.

His whole strength, as far as I have been able to compute it, consisted of about thirty-four men of war of several sizes, and the three *Dutch* admirals had under their command, twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder, therefore, that seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour, and the nation's safety, upon such unequal terms. But, the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection, and that if the *French* fleet continued longer on the coast, *this*

^l Burchet's memoirs, p. 46. See likewise a pamphlet published about that time, entitled, *The late plot on the fleet detected*, with the *Jacobites* memorial, &c. London, 1690, 4to.
^m Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, *Columna rostrata*, life of king William.
ⁿ Naval history, p. 634.
^o Burchet's memoirs, p. 44.

this would certainly take effect; by advice of the privy council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the *French* fleet to withdraw ^P. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of *June*, the admiral gave a signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind with their heads to the northward ^q.

THE signal for battle was made about eight, when the *French* braced their head-sails to their masts, in order to lay by. The engagement began about nine, when the *Dutch* squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the *French*, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our *Blue* squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the *Red*, commanded by the earl

^P Bishop Kennet, in his compleat history of England, vol. iii. p. 562. entertains us with a succinct account of this jacobite plot, which it is necessary to transcribe, that the reader may have some conception of those reasons that induced the queen and her council, to send the admiral orders to fight. "It was agreed, says he, that while part of the *French* fleet should bear up the Thames, the Jacobites in London, who were grown very bold and numerous, by the flocking of that party from all parts of the country thither, should have made an insurrection, and have seized the queen and her chief ministers. Then certain persons were to have taken upon them the administration of affairs, till the return of king James, who was to leave the command of his army to his generals, and hasten with all speed into England; the other part of the *French* fleet having joined their gallies, was to have landed eight thousand men at Torbay, with arms for a greater number. After which, the gallies and men of war were to sail into the Irish sea, to hinder the return of king William and his forces; and the discontented Scotch were to have revolted at the same time, in several parts of that kingdom."

^q Burchet's memoirs, p. 36. Naval history, p. 426. Columna rostrata.

earl of *Torrington* in person, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up till about ten ; and this occasioned a great opening between them and the *Dutch*. The *French*, making use of this advantage, surrounded the latter, who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The admiral seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them ; and while they dropt their anchors, (the only method they had left to preserve themselves) he drove with his own ship, and several others, between them and the enemy ; and in that situation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm ; but perceiving how much the *Dutch* had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood ^r.

THE next day it was resolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to endeavour to preserve the fleet, by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected ; which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the *French* admirals ; for by not anchoring when the *English* did, they were driven to a great distance, and

^r These particulars are taken from a very authentick pamphlet, the title of which runs thus ; The account given by sir John Ashby, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral Rooke, to the lords commissioners, of the engagement at sea, between the English, Dutch, and French fleets, June the thirtieth, 1690. With a journal of the fleet since their departure from St. Helen's, to their return to the Buoy in the Nore, and other material passages relating to the said engagement. London, printed for Randal Taylor, 1691, 4to. p. 32.

and by pursuing in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake*. But notwithstanding all this, they continued their pursuit as far as *Rye* bay, and forced one of our men of war of seventy guns, called the *Anne*, which had lost all her masts, on shore near *Winchelsea*; they sent in two ships to burn her, which the captain prevented, by setting fire to her himself. The body of the *French* fleet stood in and out of the bays of *Bourne* and *Pemsey*, in *Suffex*, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a *Dutch* ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her so briskly every high water, that they were at length forced to desist, and the captain carried her safe into *Holland* †.

OUR loss in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not so great as might have been expected; not above two ships, two sea captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The *Dutch* were much more unfortunate, because more thoroughly engaged. Besides three ships sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more that were stranded on the coast of *Suffex*; in all, six ships of the line. They lost likewise a-bundance of gallant officers, particularly their rear-admirals, *Dick* and *Brakel*, and captain *Nordel*, with a great number

* Burchet's memoirs, p. 47. Naval history, p. 427. The fact is likewise acknowledged by the marquis de Quincy, and other French writers. † Burchet's naval history, p. 427. I have been at some pains to discover the name of this ship, and of its gallant captain. The former I find to have been Demaes, and the latter Couvient. As I have my information from a French man, I doubt whether the names are spelt right.

number of inferior officers and seamen ^u. Yet, even this misfortune contributed to raise their reputation at sea, since, as soon as the *States* received the news of it, they ordered fourteen men of war to be built and put to sea in as many days; which, as my author says, may seem incredible to such as are unacquainted with the power of the *Dutch* at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary occasions ^w.

WE need not wonder, that a victory gained by the *French* fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers, should extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are so apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyrick on much slighter occasions. The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the *Dutch* fought with all imaginable bravery; and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being surrounded by *French* ships. He likewise owns, that such of the *English* ships as engaged, fought very well; and that the admiral endeavoured to succour the *Dutch*, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as possible, he asserts, that the united fleets were, at least, equal in force to the navy of *France*, though they had fewer ships ^x. In this, however, he is certainly mistaken, as I shall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The *Dutch* squadron consisted of twenty-two large ships, and was by much, the most formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that squadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakest of the *French* squadron carried 1,526; and if we should suppose the
united

^u Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Columna rostrata, life of king William. ^w *Memoirs historiques*, p. 14. ^x *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 330.

united fleet to have consisted of ships of the like force with the *Dutch*, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the *French* fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702. This is sufficient to shew how little dependance can be had even on the accounts of the fairest *French* authors. Father *Daniel* has given us two relations of this engagement full of exaggerations*. He tells us, that seventeen *English* and *Dutch* ships being disabled, ran ashore, and were burnt by their own crew; whereas, in truth, instead of the seventeen, there were but seven. He likewise magnifies the conduct of the count de *Tourville*, who would, as he informs us, have entirely destroyed the enemy, if they had not had the Advantage of the wind and tide. In the battle indeed, the *English* and *Dutch* had the advantage of the wind; but in their retreat, the wind was equally favourable to the *French*; and as to the advantage of the tide, it was owing to their superior skill in the management of their vessels; and bishop *Burnet* very rightly observes, that amongst the best judges, the count de *Tourville* was almost as much blamed for not making use of his vic-

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tory,

y These computations, so far as they regard the *French*, I have taken from the marquis de Quincy's own book; but as to the *Dutch* squadron, I did not think it fair to make use of the list he has given us, because I had a more authentic account; by which it appeared, that the *Dutch* squadron was larger by two ships, and carried more guns than the marquis de Quincy has set down. * We have this account first in his *histoire de milice François*, tom. ii. p. 491. With the addition of a fact altogether groundless, viz. That the *French* fleet after their victory, took a vast number of merchant ships. He relates the same affair more at large in his *histoire de France*, tom. x. In the historical journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 155. where he repeats the same tale of their taking an infinite number of ships.

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tory, as the earl of *Torrington* was, on account of his defeat ^a.

AFTER the engagement, our fleet retreated towards the river of *Thames*, and the earl of *Torrington* going on shore, left the command to sir *John Ashby*; but first gave orders to captain *Monck* of the *Phoenix*, together with four other fifth rates, and four fireships, to anchor above the narrow of the middle-grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the *Buoy* of the *Spits*, the other at the lower end of the middle; and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they pressed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what service he could against them with the fire-ships; but still to retire, and make the proper signals in such cases. On the eighth, the *French* fleet stood towards their own coast, but were seen upon the twenty-seventh off the *Berry-Head*, a little to the eastward of *Dartmouth*, and then the wind taking them short, they put into *Torbay*. There they lay not long, for they were discovered the twenty-ninth near *Plymouth*, at which place the necessary preparations were made by platforms, and other works, to give them a warm reception. The fifth of *August* they appeared again off of the *Ram-Head*, in number between sixty and seventy, when standing westward, they were no more seen in the channel this year ^b.

THE nation, all this time, was in the utmost confusion, from the apprehension of a descent to be made by the
French

^a As this prelate conversed with all the great men of that time, what he reports, in such cases as this, deserves more credit than any of his own reflections. ^b See Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, *Columna rostrata*, as before cited.

French, in favour of an insurrection by the friends of king *James*. The city of *London* shewed uncommon zeal for the support of the government, by not only raising their militia, consisting of about nine thousand men, but offering to add to these, six auxiliary regiments, a regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be maintained at their own expence, so long as they should be necessary. The tanners in *Cornwall*, also offered to rise; and addresses of the same nature came from other parts, which were very graciously received by queen *Mary*; though she did not think fit to make use of the proposed succours. She apprehended, or at least was advised by her council, that it would be more effectual to seize such persons of distinction, as were known to be in her father's interest ^c. This, it is supposed, had the desired effect; and induced the *French*, when they saw themselves disappointed in their expectations of finding numbers ready to take arms on their first appearance, to attempt little or nothing to our prejudice, except it was the burning of *Tinmouth*, and three inconsiderable vessels there; which, however, some *French* historians have represented as a glorious enterprize; and, to make their tale hang the better together, have erected fortifications, that were never seen; talk of an obstinate resistance, that was never made; and have converted three fishing-smacks into four men of war, and eight merchant-ships richly laden ^d. The mal-

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contents,

^c Kennet's compleat history, vol. iii. p. 519. ^d This story of attacking *Tinmouth*, and the great things performed there, we find both in *Quincy* and *father Daniel*, so that very probably the tale was forged on board the fleet; for that it was a forgery, no man can doubt, who is acquainted with the town and port of *Tinmouth* in *Devonshire*, and the inconsiderable trade carried on there.

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contents, however, gave quite another turn to the inactivity of the *French* fleet : they said, that the *French* king, as an ally to *James II.* would not hurt his country, or plunder it's inhabitants. Over and above these precautions, the queen took another, which was sending over Mr. *Harbord* to the *States General*, to inform them how much her majesty was concerned at the misfortune that had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought to have been. He was likewise to inform them, that the queen had given orders for refitting the *Dutch* ships that were disabled, at the nation's expence ; and had further directed, that all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded seamen ; and that a bounty should be given to the widows of such as had fallen in the action. He was yet farther instructed to acquaint the *States*, that twelve large ships were fitting out here to join the fleet ; and to desire, that their high-mightinesses would direct a proportionable reinforcement ; which they accordingly did ^e.

As

• That the reader may the better apprehend the reasons which induced her majesty to apply in this manner to the *Dutch*, it will be proper to lay before him an extract from rear-admiral *Evertzen's* letter, in which he gives an account of the fight.

“ The fourth of this month, he joined the English and Dutch fleets, riding near the isle of Wight, with three men of war : there he understood that the *French* fleet had been descryed, riding in several places, to the number of eighty-two men of war, great and small : thereupon it was resolved that they should weigh anchor, with a resolution to find them out, and observe their motion. Before the arrival of admiral *Evertzen*, it was agreed between the two nations, that the *Hollanders* should have the vanguard ; which was in appearance to do them honour, but, at the bottom, to conceal
 “ *Torrington's*

As soon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council ; where he justified himself with great presence of mind : he said, there were two things to be principally considered ; the loss that had been sustained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The first, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the *English* and *Dutch* officers had of the behaviour of the *French* at sea ; and as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had saved the fleet ; and that he had much rather his reputation should suffer for a time, than his country undergo a loss, which she might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to com-

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“ Torrington’s designs. After they had been under sail about
 “ two or three hours, they were obliged, by fogs and bad
 “ weather, to come to an anchor ; but soon after they per-
 “ ceived the French fleet to bear up towards them, with the
 “ wind at east. Immediately they weighed anchor, and en-
 “ deavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with
 “ such success, that Torrington gave the signal for the first squa-
 “ dron to engage ; but the French thought fit to retire. The
 “ sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, the two fleets were always
 “ in view of each other ; but in regard the French fleet was
 “ much the stronger, both for number and bigness of ships, it
 “ was judged most proper not to fight in the open sea ; and Tor-
 “ rington did his part so well, that he avoided engaging ’till he
 “ was come off Beachy-head, which was favourable for his
 “ purpose : and there it was that he received the queen’s or-
 “ ders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather
 “ would permit ; which was the reason, that upon the tenth,
 “ by day break, we went to seek the enemy, who expected us
 “ in order of battle ; and so, by nine o’clock, the engagement
 “ began, between the Blue Squadron of the French, and the
 “ vanguard of the Dutch ; and both sides fired desperately for
 “ three hours together, ’till the French Squadron not liking
 “ their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could
 “ make : but about one there happened a calm, which not
 “ only

mit his lordship to the *Tower*; and that they might still the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the *Dutch*, they directed a committee to repair to *Sheerness*, in order to make a thorough enquiry into the real causes of this disaster &c.

THE fleet remained now under the command of sir *Richard Haddock*, vice-admiral *Killebrew*, and sir *John Ashby*, who had orders to put it into the best condition possible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of *August*, had forty-one ships of the line under their command, exclusive of the *Dutch*: yet, in spite of all their activity, it was very late in the year, before they were able to undertake any effectual service; and by that

“ only prevented the Hollander’s pursuit, but put them into
 “ a little disorder; upon which the French (whom the same
 “ calm hindered from getting away) were constrained to begin
 “ the fight again, which lasted ’till five o’clock in the evening,
 “ with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the English,
 “ most certainly, unless it were some few vessels that fought
 “ against *Torrington*’s order, the rest did nothing at all: so
 “ that the main body of the French, fell into the rear of the
 “ Dutch fleet; and having fought from morning till evening,
 “ and defended themselves so long against such a prodigious
 “ number of the enemy that assailed them on every side, they
 “ were so battered, that hardly three were capable of making
 “ any defence; which constrained them to make their way
 “ through the French fleet, and bear away for the coast of Eng-
 “ land, between *Beachy* and *Ferley*. Admiral *Brakel*, *Jean Dick*,
 “ and captain *Nordel* were slain. The *Friezland* having lost
 “ all her masts, and not to be towed off by reason of the calm,
 “ was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral *Evertzen*
 “ gave this testimony of all the Dutch officers and soldiers:
 “ that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty.
 “ In short, it has not been heard that ever twenty-two ships
 “ fought so long against eighty-two, of which seventeen carried
 “ no less than from eighty to an hundred guns.”

’ *Kennet*, *Burchet*, *Burnet*, and the report of the commission,
 was mentioned in the text.

that time, it was necessary to lay up the larger ships, the remainder being found sufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops, under the command of the earl of *Marlborough*, whose winter expedition shall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, with the Squadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral *Killegrew*, in *Plymouth Sound*.

ON the twenty-first of *July*, rear-admiral *Shovel* received orders to proceed with the ships under his command for *Kinsale*, to intercept some *French* frigates that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at *Waterford* river, with intention to execute this commission, he received the agreeable news of lieutenant-general *Kirke's* having made himself master of the town of *Waterford*; but was at the same time informed, that *Duncannon* castle, which by its situation commanded the river, still held out; and that the lieutenant-general, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of *Waterford*, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent the lieutenant general word, on the twenty-seventh of *July*, that he was ready to assist him, by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his Squadron, under the protection of their guns. Accordingly the next day he sent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two small ships, to batter their castle; and under their fire, landed between six and seven hundred men; all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but when once general *Bourk*, who commanded there, saw

the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out of the castle with two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the *English* the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty ^h!

AFTER this happy success, the rear-admiral sailed for *Limerick*; where he was informed, the *French* had a considerable number of ships; but finding soon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own Squadron began to be in want of provisions and sea-stores, he came thereupon to a resolution of sailing to *Plsmouth*, where he received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in quest of the enemy. But these orders, which came from the lords of the *Admiralty*, were, on the eighteenth of *September*, countermanded, by a fresh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ships into the *Soundings*, for the protection of the trade, and to sail with the rest for the *Downs*; which he accordingly did ⁱ.

AFTER the raising the siege of *Limerick*, king *William* returned into *England*; where, in a council held on the affairs of *Ireland*, which were still in a very precarious condition,

^h Burchet's naval history, p. 432. But there the author has committed a very extraordinary mistake; for, instead of *Waterford*, he mentions *Kinsale*, as the city annoyed by *Duncan-non-castle*: now that this was really an effect of want of care, and not an error in transcribing, appears by comparing his naval history with its index, and with his naval memoirs, p. 59. where the source of this error is seen; for there he says, that sir *Cloudesley Shovel* being ordered to proceed to *Kinsale*, received intelligence, when he was near the river of *Waterford*, that the town had surrendered two or three days; that is, the town of *Waterford*: but in his history, he has put in, the town of *Kinsale* was surrendered, as if that town had stood on the river of *Waterford*. ⁱ Burchet's memoirs, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Kennet, Oldmixon, &c.

dition, many of the great cities, and most of the convenient ports being still held for king *James*, the earl of *Marlborough* proposed a plan for the immediate reduction of that island: he observed, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the *French* returned to *Brest*; in which situation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to descents. He further remarked, that there were at least five thousand land-forces lying idle in *England*, which might be embarked on board the fleet, even in this late season of the year, and perform considerable service. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of *Marlborough*, and sent orders to the admirals to send the great ships about to *Chatham*, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet, the forces ordered for this service ^k.

THE admirals hoisted their flag on board the *Kent*, a third rate; and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of *Cork*, on the twenty-first of *September*, in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for some time prevented by the fire of a small battery of five guns; from which, however, the *Irish* were soon driven, by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without interruption. On the twenty-third, the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thousand men, under the command of the duke of *Wirtemberg*; who, by an ill-timed dispute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition. The earl of *Marlborough*, as the elder
lieute-

^k Kennet, Burnet's history of his own times. Life of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. History of the war in Ireland.

lieutenant-general, and commanding the troops that were principals, had, according to all the rules of war, a right to it; but the duke of *Wurtemberg* insisted on his being a prince, which, at last, however, he was content to wave, and to consent they should command alternately. The city of *Cork* was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thousand men: but the earl of *Marlborough* having observed that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the twenty-fourth, which was performed with great expedition by five or six hundred seamen, carpenters, &c. and after playing on the town for a few hours, made so considerable a breach, that on the twenty-fifth the generals resolved to attack it; in which they were assisted by ten pinnaces, manned by seamen, well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The besieged was so terrified at this, that it was easily discerned the siege would not continue long; and indeed the *Irish* instantly capitulated¹. But the very next day the fleet received

¹ We have a very fair account of this matter, both in *Burnet's* history of his own times, and in *bishop Kennet's* compleat history: yet neither of those prelates were enough master of the subject, to give their readers a proper idea of this extraordinary affair. The earl of *Marlborough's* expedition, all circumstances considered, was, beyond comparison, the most successful undertaking in the whole reign of king *William*; and even the reduction of *Cork*, was such a mark of penetration, as king *William* never forgot; since it depended entirely on his lordship's considering the situation of the place, and observing that all the pains taken in fortifying it, were thrown away. If king *James's* French generals had understood as much, they would not have put four thousand men, and some of their best officers into such a place; and on the other hand, if king *William's* foreign officers had joined the light of genius to the knowledge they had acquired by experience, they would not have informed the king as they did, that the place could not be taken in less than six weeks, even by a regular siege.

received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a squadron under the command of the duke of *Grafton*, to assist the general; but that brave nobleman having received a wound in the shoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain *Mathew Tenant*, who was blown up in the *Breda* in *Cork* harbour; and then it fell to captain *Crofts*, who attended the earl of *Marlborough* till after the reduction of *Kinsale*, as well as *Cork*, which surrendered on the fifteenth of *October*, and then brought over the victorious general, who was presented to his master at *Kensington*, on the twenty-eighth of that month, after having achieved in a very few weeks, more than all the foreign generals had been able to do since the beginning of the war in *Ireland* m.

THE fleet arrived in the *Downs* on the eighth of *October*, bringing over with them, by the earl of *Marlborough's* desire, the governor of *Cork*, and several persons of quality, who were made prisoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide the fleet into small squadrons for several services, and leave only a strong squadron in the *Downs*, under the command of sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the *Soundings*, without any success remarkable enough to deserve notice, except that the *Deptford* and the *Crown*, two small ships, took a small *French* men of war, called the *Fripon*, commanded by captain *St. Marca*, one of the briskest officers in the *French* service. She carried but eighteen guns, and ten patereroes, and but a little before had engaged

m Burchet's memoirs, p. 56, 57, 58. Historical and political mercury, for the month of November, 1690, wherein there is an excellent account of this expedition, and very judicious remarks on its consequences.

engaged four *Dutch* privateers, whom she obliged to sheer off, though with the loss of thirty men killed and wounded : yet now notwithstanding her force was so much weakened, she fought till her captain and lieutenants were desperately wounded, and her master killed ; nor did she yield at last, till her main-mast was shot away by the *Crown*, and she boarded by the crew of that ship. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he sent some of his ships to the coast of *Ireland*, others into the *Soundings*, and returned with the rest into the *Downs* ⁿ ; and thus ended the naval operations for this year.

WE ought next to proceed to the *West-Indies*, where, within the compass of this year, there passed many things worthy of notice ; but as the critical observation of time, in this case, would necessarily occasion a great deal of perplexity in the narration, and force us to consider it in such a manner, as must render it very obscure, as well as very inconnected, we shall therefore refer the history of the naval transactions there, to that period in which they were compleated, and so take in the whole together, uniting the circumstances of the several expeditions in as clear and succinct a manner, as the nature of the subject will allow. In the mean time, let us return to the enquiry made this winter into the conduct of the earl of *Torrington* ; which was a point that exercised the thoughts of the ministry, and of both the houses of parliament, as well as the tongues of the people.

THE king, upon his return from *Ireland*, expressed great concern about this affair ; the honour of the nation was in some measure affected, the common cry was very

ⁿ Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, *Columna rostrata*, like of king William, &c.

very strong against the earl, and the queen had engaged her promise to the *Dutch*, that his conduct should undergo a strict examination. On the other hand, the earl had been very instrumental in the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of persuading many, that instead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of foreigners, merely for preserving the *English* fleet. The great difficulty lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial: the king was resolved it should be by a court-martial; the friends of the earl maintained that he ought to be tried by his peers. A doubt was likewise started, as to the power of the lords of the *Admiralty*; for though it was allowed, that the lord high admiral of *England* might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned, whether any such authority was lodged in the commissioners of the *Admiralty* or not; and though some great lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to settle so important a point by authority of parliament.

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commissioners of the *Admiralty*; and immediately after the passing of this, these commissioners

^o The reader may find much of this in Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c. Yet our account is chiefly taken from the journals of parliament, and some manuscript memoirs of those times, of which I shall give the reader a further account, in the memoirs of the earl of Torrington. p Stat. 2 W. & M. sess. 2. cap. 2. It is declared, that all and singular authorities, jurisdictions and powers, which by act of parliament or otherwise, are invested in the lord high admiral of England for the time being, have always appertained to, and shall be used and executed by the commissioners of the admiralty, as if they were so used and executed by the lord high admiral. Every officer present

commissioners directed a court-martial to be held for the trial of the earl, who was then sick in the *Tower*. On the 10th of *December* this court-martial met on board the *Kent Frigate*, at *Sheerness*, sir *Ralph Delaval*, who had acted as vice-admiral of the *Blue* in the engagement, being president, and all the members of the court, such as were believed to be absolutely independant of the person they were to try. The charge against the earl was, that in the late engagement of off *Beachy Head*, he had, through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the *English* nation, and sacrificed our good allies the *Dutch*. His lordship defended himself with great clearness of reason, and with extraordinary composure of mind. He observed, that in the several councils of war held before the fight, not only himself, but all the admirals in the fleet, were against engaging. He took notice of the queen's order, which obliged them to fight against their own opinion, and without any probability of success. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and *French* fleets; the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He asserted, that the *Dutch* were destroyed by their own rashness; and that, if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded as they were; and as some reflections had been thrown out of his having a pique to the *Dutch*, to gratify which he had given

present upon trials of offenders by court-martial, to be held by virtue of any commission granted by the lord high admiral, or commissioners of the admiralty, shall, before any proceeding to trial, take this oath, to be administered by the judge advocate, or his deputy, viz. "You shall well and truly try the matter now before you, between our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen's majesty, and the prisoner to be tried.

"SO HELP YOU GOD."

given them up ; he not only justified himself very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with saying, that his conduct had saved the *English* fleet ; and that he hoped an *English* court-martial would not sacrifice him to *Dutch* resentment⁹. After a full hearing, and strict examination of all that had been advanced on both sides, his lordship was unanimously acquitted¹⁰. And though some writers of our own, as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the court-martial¹¹, yet on the whole

⁹ See a further account of this matter in the subsequent memoirs of the earl of Torrington. Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet, life of king William. Bishop Burnet in his history of his own times, expresses himself with his wonted sharpness. "The commissioners of the admiralty, says he, named a court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the justice of the nation ; so that, if it had not been for the great interest the king had in the states, it might have occasioned a breach of the alliance between them and us. He came off safe as to his person and estate ; but much loaded in his reputation : some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty fullness of temper, that made him, since orders were sent him contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them and fight ; but in such a manner as should cast the blame on those who had sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent of it." — The malignity of these reflections destroy their credit, and the weight of the charge overturns it. If the proceedings of the court-martial had been scandalously unjust, our prelate would not have been at a loss for the earl of Torrington's crime. His judges were upon oath, and regarded nothing therefore but proof. Indeed this was happy for him : for had they been governed like the bishop, by conjectures, and guessed at the thoughts of his heart, instead of examining his actions, he might have been punished, though he had not been guilty. — The sieur de Monte, in his political mercury, for the month of January, 1691, censures the judgment of the court-martial severely, and says, the king was so displeased with it, that he resolved never to employ any of it's members. — What credit is due

whole there seems to be no just ground either for censuring them, or fixing any imputation on the memory of that noble person *t*. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the king took away his commission, and he was thenceforward laid aside; which might be a very right step in politics, as it tended to satisfy our allies, and gave his majesty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer *u*.

THE care of the administration to repair all past errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared visibly in the measures taken for sending a great fleet early to sea, in the spring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of *Torrington* was dismissed from his command, *Edward Ruffel*, esq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received instructions to use the utmost expedition in drawing together the ships of which his fleet was to be composed; and a list of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-seven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his instructions. He executed these directions with the utmost skill and diligence, and by the 7th of *May* was ready to put to sea. The *Blue* squadron was commanded by *Henry Killegrew*, esq; as admiral;

due to this, we may easily guess, if we consider that sir Ralph Delaval, the president of that court-martial, was immediately employed as vice admiral of the *Blue*. — Another foreign writer, says, that the king dismissed some of the members of that court, and forty two captains of the navy, who were supposed to be in the earl's interest. — This alone is sufficient to shew his innocence. An English admiral capable of cowardice or treachery, could have no such interest. * Bishop Kennet tells us, that in the year 1697, several French officers coming over after the peace, when they could not be suspected of partiality, openly justified and commended the earl's conduct, and said, "He deserved to be rewarded, rather than censured, since he had preserved the best part of the " fleet from being destroyed." *u* Kennet, Burnet, Burnet, &c.

miral; sir *Ralph Delaval*, vice-admiral; sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, rear-admiral. Admiral *Ruffel*, in the *Britannia*, commanded the *Red Squadron*, having for his vice and rear-admirals, sir *John Ashby* and *George Rooke*, esq; as to the particular strength of these squadrons, having seen a more perfect list than that exhibited by Mr. *Burchet*, I have given an abstract of it at the bottom of the page w. His orders were to proceed into the *Soundings*, as soon as he should be joined by the *Dutch*; and he was likewise directed to take care to block up the port of *Dunkirk*, in order to prevent the *French* privateers from disturbing our trade. These directions, however, were but indifferently executed; which our writers attribute to the slowness of the *Dutch* in sending their ships to join the confederate fleet, which they had stipulated to do by the beginning of

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May,

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|------------------|-------|--------|
| w Blue squadron | Guns | Men |
| 2 First rates | 200 | 1,600 |
| 6 Second rates | 570 | 3,960 |
| 16 Third rates | 1,090 | 7,040 |
| 4 Fourth rates | 200 | 1,000 |
| <hr/> | | |
| 28 | 2,060 | 13,600 |
| 3 Frigates | | |
| 2 Hospital-ships | | |
| 1 Yatch | | |
| 10 Fire-ships | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Red Squadron | Guns | Men |
| 3 First rates | 300 | 2,400 |
| 5 Second rates | 470 | 3,300 |
| 16 Third rates | 1,090 | 7,040 |
| 5 Fourth rates | 250 | 1,250 |
| <hr/> | | |
| 29 | 2,110 | 13,990 |
| 3 Frigates | | |
| 2 Hospital-ships | | |
| 1 Yatch | | |
| 10 Fire-ships | | |

34 NAVAL HISTORY

May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though bishop *Burnet* says of three to five, of equal rates and strength. Secretary *Burchet*, however, complains, that it was late in the month of *May* before there were so many as twenty-eight *Dutch* ships in the fleet; whereas, according to the list published by the *States-General*, in the very same month there ought to have been forty-six, and those too very large ships*. This, however, is certain, that notwithstanding all his skill and care, admiral *Ruffel* found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very scantily victualled; at the same time that he was so perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties started upon every occasion by the *Dutch* admiral, who very probably was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of *May* and *June* were spent to very little purpose; and though the *French* fleet was not in such forwardness this year as it had been the last, yet it was at sea some time before ours had any intelligence of it.

If we may judge from appearances, one may safely say, that *Lewis XIV.* shewed a singular vanity in the maintenance of a prodigious naval force, to make it evident how soon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the *English*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*; and as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhausted his treasures, in order to render himself master at sea. He appointed the count *d'Estrees*, vice-admiral of *France*, to command in the

* According to this list, the Rotterdam Squadron consisted of eleven ships, from 80 to 50 guns. The Amsterdam Squadron of sixteen, from 92 to 50 guns. The North Holland of five, from 86 to 50 guns. The Friesland of six, from 70 to 52 guns. The Zealand of eight, from 92 to 50 guns. In all, forty six capital ships, carrying 3,002 guns. y Kennet, *Burnet*, *Burchet*, *Columna rostrata*, life of king *William*.

the *Mediterranean* a fleet consisting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-six gallies, and three bomb vessels: and, on the other hand, count *Tourville* was directed to assemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it consisted of three squadrons, the *White* and *Blue* commanded by M. *Chatteau Renault*, in the *Royal Dauphin* of one hundred guns; the *White* squadron commanded by count *Tourville* in person, in the *Royal Sun*, the finest ship in *France*, which carried one hundred and six guns; the *Blue* squadron under the marquis d'*Amfreville*, in the *Superb*, of ninety-eight guns^a. This fleet, though very considerable, and excellently provided with every thing necessary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates, and therefore count *Tourville* was instructed to avoid an engagement as much as possible, and to amuse the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to sea; but, in spite of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of *June* before he left the port of *Brest*. But then it must be observed, that a squadron had been sent under the command of the marquis de *Nesmonde*, to carry supplies of all sorts for the relief of king *James's* army in *Ireland*^b. These were indeed great things, and what, all circumstances considered, one could scarce conceive the *French* able to perform; yet they were

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^a *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 446. Pere Daniel *Histoire de France*.

^b I take this from the marquis de Quincy, who has given us an exact list of them; according to which, the *Blue* and *White* squadron consisted of twenty-four ships; the *White* of twenty-five, and the *Blue* of twenty-four. In all, seventy-three capital ships, carrying 1,544 guns, and 29,450 men, together with twenty-one fire-ships.

^c *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 455.

far short of what it was believed in *England* at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore so many accounts were sent to our admiral from court, of descents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other strange projects, that he was hindered from pursuing either the orders that were first given him, or his own designs; and though he discovered a good deal of uneasiness under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey ^c.

THE *Smyrna* fleet was expected home this spring, and as the *English* and *Dutch* had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upwards of four millions sterling, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the *French*, and therefore very precise orders were sent to admiral *Ruffel*, to use his utmost care for its preservation; and this he executed with equal industry and success: for having appointed single ships to cruize for them on every point of the compass, he crossed with the body of the fleet to *Cape Clear*, on the *Irish* coast; and being off *Kinsale*, received advice, that the *Smyrna* fleet was arrived safely in that harbour. Upon this he sent orders to captain *Aylmer*, to join him immediately with the squadron under his command, resolving to conduct the *Smyrna* fleet as far as *Scilly*, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having first taken the necessary precaution of sending a frigate before to *Plymouth*, that he might be satisfied none of the enemy's ships were upon the coast ^d. After parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to go off *Ushant*; and if the *French* were gone from thence, to follow them to *Belle-Isle*; but being afterwards

^c Burchet's memoirs, p. 71. Kennet, Burnet.
 chet's memoirs, p. 85. Kennet, Burnet, &c.

^d Bur-

terwards of opinion, that they lay in the sea purposely to avoid him, he altered his resolutions, and resolved to go into a more proper station in search of them; so that parting with the *Smyrna* fleet off *Scilly*, the thirteenth of *July*, he first bent his course towards the *French* coast, from whence he sent a letter to the secretary of state, desiring that it might be considered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be serviceable towards the reduction of *Ireland*; for that the provisions on board would last no longer than the latter end of *August*, and after that month was expired, he thought it not safe for the great ships to be out of harbour; but he desired that supplies of provision might be ready at *Plymouth*, that so the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any necessary service. Arriving in this station, sir *Cloudesley Shovel* was sent to look into *Brest*, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from *Bretagne*, escorted by three men of war. Sir *Cloudesley*, to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: he knew the *French* had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prize of several *English* merchant-men; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his squadron to put out *French* colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the *French*, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part, but the enemy discovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much mischief.

TOWARDS the latter end of the month of *July*, admiral *Ruffel* fell in with a convoy going to the *French* fleet

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with fresh provisions ; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count *Tourville* had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chased by ours, they immediately ran, making signal to others that lay within them ; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the *English* and *Dutch* sailed in such a posture, that the scouts on each wing, as well as those a-head and a-stern, could in clear weather see twenty leagues round [§]. The admiral, being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, wrote home for fresh orders, which he received ; but found them so perplexed, that having intelligence of the *French* fleet's being gone into *Brest*, he, in the beginning of *August*, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to *Torbay*, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again, which he did ; and notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the *Soundings* to the second of *September*, when he met with such a violent storm, that after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, he was constrained to bear up for so dangerous a port as *Plymouth* ; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the haziness of the weather, the ships were so scattered, that the greatest part of them were not seen when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the *Sound* ; but when
it

[§] See the *Historical Mercury*, for the month of *August*, 1691.

it grew somewhat clearer, one of the second rates, (which proved to be the *Coronation*) was discovered at anchor off *Ram-Head*, without any thing standing but the ensign-staff, and soon after she foundered; her commander, captain *Shelton*, together with her company, except a very inconsiderable number, being lost. Many of the biggest ships were not able to weather the eastermost point of land at the entrance into *Plymouth-Sound*, and therefore were constrained to take sanctuary there, in that unavoidable confusion which a lee-shore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind will always occasion; insomuch, that the *Harwich*, a third rate, ran on shore, and bulged near *Mount Edgcombe-house*, and the *Royal-Oak* and *Northumberland* tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great *Dutch* ship was seen at anchor above five leagues in the *Offing*, with all her masts gone; and several there were that very narrowly escaped the danger of the *Edystone* &c.

THE admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such of the ships as had been damaged in the storm, and left sir *Cloudefley Shovel* at *Plymouth* to see it performed; directing him, as soon as they were in a condition to sail, to send a squadron of ten sail into the *Soundings*, for the security of the homeward-bound trade; himself, with the rest of the fleet, steering for *Spithead*; where soon after he received orders to send the largest ships about to *Chatham*, as the *Dutch* admiral did to return home, with the first and second rates under his command. Admiral *Russel* was likewise directed to form a squadron of thirty sail of *English* and *Dutch* ships to be sent to the coast of *Ireland*, and he accordingly appointed vice-admiral *Delaval* for this

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command,

command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds; which, however, proved of no detriment to the service, since the intelligence received of the *French* sending a fleet to *Limerick*, proved false ^h. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or satisfaction of the nation. Yet certainly nothing could be charged on the admiral's conduct, who did all that could be expected from an able and vigilant officer, though his endeavours were frustrated by many clashing and contradictory orders from home, the artful conduct of a cautious enemy, and the unavoidable effects of high winds and boisterous weather.

WE need not wonder, therefore, either at the attempts made in the house of commons, to fasten upon him the miscarriages, as they were called, at sea ⁱ, or the ill-natured censures glanced at his memory by some peevish writers ^k, with whom want of fortune will always imply want of skill and integrity: these are things not to be avoided, nor, indeed, much to be heeded. The storm in the house of commons never gathered to a head; for those who misinterpreted the admiral's conduct, found, on inspecting papers, that it was not for their interest to examine it; and

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^h Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, *Columna rostrata*, Present State of Europe, for 1691.

ⁱ The house ordered the admiral's instructions, and the letters written to, and by him, to be laid before them; which sufficiently cleared him from all blame.

^k Bishop Burnet says, the season went over without any action; and Russel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a storm; which was much censured; for that road is not safe: and two considerable ships were lost upon the occasion. Great factions were amongst the flag-officers, and no other service was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.— This remark is worth nothing, unless admiral Russel had it in commission to direct to winds; for in a storm, folks do not make for the best, but for the nearest port.

as for our censorious authors, their reflections have recoiled upon themselves.

It was now become evident to the whole nation, that, with respect to our honour and interest in this war, the management of affairs at sea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable series of wrong councils, the management of these affairs was, in reality, less regarded than any thing else. The absolute reduction of *Ireland*, and the war in *Flanders*, seemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely, and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of *Admiralty*, who, to speak in the softest terms, did not manage it very successfully, or much to the satisfaction of the nation. There were, besides, some other things which contributed to make our maritime councils move slowly. There was a faction grown up in the fleet against the admiral, and at the same time the government entertained a great jealousy of many of the officers; though to this hour it remains a secret, whether it was, or was not, well grounded¹. The truth seems to be, that king *James* was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other set of men in *England*; most of them had served under him when lord-high admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable, they might have an esteem for his person: but, that any of these officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a *French* force, against their country, is very unlikely; especially if we consider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they solemnly thanked for it by the convention. Yet the report of the contrary was grown wonderfully

¹ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 42. Kennet, Oldmixon.

wonderfully loud, and seems to have been very artfully propagated by the enemies of particular persons, as well as by those who were no friends to the government; for it must be allowed, that king *James's* agents here boasted in all the advices they sent him, that they had brought back many of the officers of the navy to his interest; and they went so far as to name some of them, which they might do from many other motives than that of speaking truth ^m. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealousies, ill conduct, and want of sufficient supplies for the service; a kind of discourse that lasted all the winter, and was productive of many bad consequences.

In the spring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to *Holland*, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral *Ruffel*, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commission, dated *December* the third, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from standing in high favour. He had expostulated freely with his majesty on the disgrace of the earl of *Marlbrough*, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new secretary, lord *Nottingham*; but his character, as an officer, and his known steadiness in revolution-principles, supported him; and the king resolved to confide the fleet to his care, almost whether

^m The agent sent over by king *James's* adherents, was one captain *Lloyd*, to whom they gave a very exact list of the English fleet, and directed him particularly, to inform the king, that amongst other eminent sea officers, they had brought over read admiral *Carter* to his service; when this was first talked of, a report prevailed, that he had 10,000 pounds given him; but of the falshood of this story, we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter. See *Kennet*, *Burnet*, *Oldmixon*.

ther the admiral would or not. The principal thing that seems to have been intended, was, convincing not *France* alone, but all *Europe*, that the maritime powers were still lords of the sea, by fitting out early such a fleet, as should keep their enemies in awe, while a descent was made in *Normandy*. Something of this kind king *William* intimated in a speech to the parliament; and was certainly expected both by this nation and the *Dutch*. When, therefore, the king left *England*, in the beginning of *March*, his instructions to admiral *Ruffel* were, to use all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet to sea; and at the same time he was promised, that his majesty would not fail to quicken the *Dutch*: but we shall soon see that all these schemes were suddenly altered; and that if the king's new ministry had been furnished with tolerable intelligence, these schemes could never have entered into their heads^a. To be clear in this point, we must look over to the transactions in *France*.

As soon as *Lewis XIV.* perceived, that it was a thing impossible to support the war in *Ireland* any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces that were still left king *James*, to serve his purpose another way. With this view he concerted with the malcontents in *England*, an invasion on the coast of *Suffex*; and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number

^a In order to prove the truth of this account, I shall refer the reader to the *Historical Mercury*, for the month of April, 1692, wherein we are assured, that the scheme of making a descent on *France*, was taken from king *William*'s own mouth; that orders were given for having a prodigious number of pontons, and flat-bottomed boats ready, by the latter end of June, and that the duke of *Leinster*, (who was son to marshal *Schorberg*), was to command the forces employed in this service. See also *Burnet's history of his own times*, vol. ii. p. 92.

number of transports, as well as a very considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness, before it was so much as suspected here. The land army consisted of fourteen battalions of *English* and *Irish* troops, and about nine thousand *French*, commanded by marshal de *Belfondes*; so that in all there could not be less than 20,000 men *. The fleet of transports consisted of three hundred sail, and was well provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. In short, nothing was wanting to the execution of this design in the beginning of *April*, but the arrival of count *d'Estrees's* Squadron of twelve men of war, which was to escort the embarkation, while the count de *Tourville* cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this situation, king *James* sent over colonel *Parker*, and some other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and some of these people, in hopes of reward, gave the first clear account of the whole design to our government at home; upon which, order after order was sent to admiral *Ruffel* to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

THERE were at this very critical juncture, two considerable

* *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 473, 577. Burnet's history of his own times, p. 93. Kennet, Oldmixon, P Queen Mary behaved upon this occasion with great wisdom and firmness of mind; for, without discovering any apprehensions of danger, she took all the precautions that were necessary to prevent it; by publishing a proclamation, requiring all papists to quit the cities of London and Westminster; another for assembling both houses of parliament; and a third, for apprehending the earls of Scarfdale, Litchfield, Newbourg, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; sir John Fenwicke, sir Theophilus Oglethorp, sir Andrew Forrester, and several other persons of distinction, supposed to be in her father's interest.

considerable squadrons at sea; one under the command of sir *Ralph Delaval*, which was sent to bring home a fleet of merchant-men from the *Mediterranean*, the other under rear-admiral *Carter*, near the *French* coast. It was apprehended, that the *French* would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore on the last of *February*, orders were sent by the *Groin* packet-boat to vice-admiral *Delaval*, to avoid coming near cape *St. Vincent*, but to keep so far out at sea, as not to make cape *Clear*, but rather to sail to *Dingle-Bay*, the mouth of the *Shannon*, or some other port thereabouts. But for fear these orders might not reach him soon enough at *Cadiz*, an advice-boat was ordered to cruize for him off cape *Clear*, with instructions to put into *Cork* or *Kinsale*. However, both these orders missed him, and he was so fortunate as to arrive, in the beginning of *March*, safe in the *Downs*. As for rear-admiral *Carter*, he was ordered to continue cruising, with his squadron of eighteen sail, as near the *French* coast as it was possible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing. His majesty, king *William*, as soon as he arrived in *Holland*, took care to hasten the naval preparations with unusual diligence, so that the fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected, or at least much sooner than it had done the year before, and in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of *May*; and observing how great advantage

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⁴ Burchet's memoirs, p. 129. ⁵ See the London Gazette, No. 2749. whereby it appears, that sir Ralph Delaval's squadron consisted of sixteen English and Dutch men of war, and had under convoy seventy merchant-men, richly laden. See also Burchet, Columna rostrata, &c.

the *French* might reap by the division of such considerable squadrons from our fleet, his first care was to write to court on this subject, and to desire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice might be given to all persons concerned. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between cape *La Hague* and the isle of *Wight*, till the squadrons should join him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off *Beachy-Head*. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed it down through the sands, with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral's, which was his own, was owing all his following success. On the eighth the fleet came safe off of *Rye*, and that night the admiral sent to the *Dutch* admiral to weigh and make sail after him, that no time might be lost; and he also sent a squadron of small ships to look for sir *Ralph Delaval*, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the eleventh of *May* he sailed from *Rye* bay for *St. Helens*, where, in two days time, he was joined by sir *Ralph Delaval* and rear-admiral *Carter*, with their squadrons*. While they lay here, the admiral received a letter from the earl of *Nottingham*, as secretary of state, written by queen *Mary's* direction, wherein he was informed, that a scandalous and malicious report was spread, as if some of the officers of their majesties fleet were disaffected, or not hearty in their service; and that her majesty had thereupon ordered the discharge of many of them from their employments: but her majesty charged the admiral to acquaint his

* Burchet's naval history, p. 464.

his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed so entire a confidence in their fidelity, that she had resolved not to displace so much as one of them. Upon this, the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the *Britannia* at *St. Helens*, *May* the fifteenth, 1692, which was the same day transmitted to court, and on the next presented by the lords of the *Admiralty* to her majesty, who was pleased to make this wise and gracious answer, which was published that night in the *Gazette*. *I always had this opinion of the commanders; but I am glad this is come to satisfy others* †.

WHEN all the ships, *English* and *Dutch*, were come together, the admiral proposed, that a small detachment of six or eight frigates, might hover about the coast of *Normandy*; that at the same time, the forces intended for a descent, should embark, and be landed at *St. Maloes*, and the grand fleet lie westward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This proposition being in part approved, he detached six light ships to gain intelligence; and it being left to him to proceed as a council of war should advise, he, on the eighteenth of *May*, sailed for the coast of *France*. The next day, about three in the morning, the scouts, westward of the fleet, fired swivel guns; and being in a short time in sight, made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner,

† I give, in some respects, a different account of this affair from what the reader will meet with in Burchet, and the rest of our historians. But then I do this from the *Gazette* itself, No. 2767, wherein the reasons I have assigned, are expressly mentioned.

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sooner, if the *French* had stood to the northward. A little after four, the sun dispersing the fog, the enemy were seen standing southward. The admiral upon this caused the signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ship so far leeward, as that each ship in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then he brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-sail to the mast, that so others might have the better opportunity of placing themselves according to the manner formerly directed on such an occasion ^u.

THE confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the *Dutch* squadron in the van, the *Red* in the centre, and

^u Burchet's memoirs, p. 138, 139. It will be proper to give the reader here, an abstract of the force of the respective fleets.

THE RED SQUADRON.

| Rates | Men | Guns |
|----------|--------|-------|
| 5 First | 3,835 | 500 |
| 3 Second | 1,800 | 270 |
| 16 Third | 6,400 | 1,100 |
| 7 Fourth | 1,860 | 350 |
| 31 | 13,895 | 2,220 |

The right honourable EDWARD RUSSEL, esq; admiral, commander in chief.

Sir RALPH DELAVAL, vice-admiral.

Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, rear-admiral.

THE BLUE SQUADRON.

| Rates | Men | Guns |
|----------|--------|-------|
| 1 First | 780 | 100 |
| 7 Second | 4,655 | 636 |
| 18 Third | 7,740 | 1,270 |
| 6 Fourth | 1,500 | 304 |
| 32 | 14,675 | 2,310 |

Sir JOHN ASHBY, admiral.

GEORGE ROOKE, esq; vice-admiral.

RICHARD CARTER, esq; rear-admiral.

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and the *Blue* in the rear. About ten the *French* fleet bore down upon them with great resolution. About half an hour after eleven count *Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun*, brought to, and began the fight with admiral *Ruffel*, being within three quarters musket-shot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail-yards being very much wounded. About two the wind shifted; so that five of the enemy's *Blue* squadron posted themselves, three a-head, and two a-stern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two seconds, Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Aylmer*, had all these ships to deal with. There was so thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be seen; and as soon as it cleared up, the *French* admiral was discovered towing away northward; upon which the

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admiral

The DUTCH SQUADRON.

| Rates | Men | Guns |
|-----------|--------|-------|
| 9 First | 4,515 | 796 |
| 10 Second | 3,766 | 772 |
| 9 Third | 2,925 | 640 |
| 8 Fourth | 1,845 | 406 |
| 36 | 13,051 | 2,614 |

Admiral ALLEMONDE

Vice-admiral CALLEMBERGH.

Rear-admiral VANDERGOES.

The FRENCH FLEET.

The VAN.

26 Ships from 90 to 60 guns.

The CENTER.

25 Ships from 104 to 54 guns.

The REAR.

12 Ships from 94 to 54 guns.

So that admiral *Ruffel* had 99 ships of the line under his command, and count *Tourville* but 63, some of which were detached at the time of the action.

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admiral followed him, and made the signal for chasing. While this passed between the admirals, sir *Cloudesley Shovel* was got to the windward of count *Tourville's* squadron, and engaged them; but the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor: and about this time it was that captain (some lists call him colonel) *Hastings*, in the *Sandwich*, was killed, driving through those ships of the enemy, by reason his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the *French* followed their flying admiral, and the *English* chased the best they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the *English Blue* squadron having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having lost four ships, bore away for *Conquet-Road* w. In this short action rear-admiral *Carter* was killed, whose last words effectually confuted the base reports spread to blemish his reputation; for, finding himself mortally wounded, he recommended it to captain *Wright*, who commanded his ship, to fight her as long as she could swim x.

The twentieth of *May* proved so dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the *Dutch* discovered the enemy; and then the whole fleet began to chase, the *French* crowding away westward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored: about ten they weighed again; and about twelve admiral *Ruffel's* fore-top-mast came by the board y.

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w Burchet's memoirs, p. 139, 140, 141. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Columna rostrata.

x The manner of his death shews how false the aspersion was, that he had taken 10,000 pounds to fire upon the French only with powder, who were to return the like, and then he was to go over to them with his squadron. As he certainly died like a man of honour, it is but just to believe, that he was strictly such while he lived. y Burchet's memoirs, p. 143.

ON the twenty-second, about seven in the morning, the *English* fleet continued the chase with all the success they could desire; about eleven the *French* admiral ran ashore, and cut her masts away: upon this her two seconds plied up to her, and other ships began to hover about them; upon which the admiral sent to sir *Ralph Delaval*, who was in the rear, to keep with him a strength sufficient to destroy those ships, and to send the rest, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening, a great number of the enemy's ships were seen going into *La Hogue*. On the twenty-third the admiral sent in sir *George Rooke*, with several men of war, fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to destroy these ships in the bay of *La Hogue*. On their entering, it was perceived, that there were thirteen sail; but they were got up so high, that none but the small frigates could do any service. Sir *George*, however, was resolved to execute his orders; and therefore having manned his boats, he went in person to encourage the attempt, burnt six of them that night, and the other seven the next morning, together with a great number of transport ships, and other vessels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of service: indeed it was by much the greatest that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on shore, and within sight of the *Irish* camp, and with the loss only of ten men: yet bishop *Burnet*, by an odd stroke, either of humour or negligence, has thought fit to blame sir

E 2 *George,*

* It appears by admiral *Allemonde*'s letter to the States-general, that this was a most difficult and dangerous undertaking, and his letter was dated the very morning the thing was done; which is a much stronger proof of admiral *Rooke*'s merit, than if it had been written by an *English* admiral.

George, as if he had not been inclined to fight. Sir *John Ashby*, with his own squadron, and some *Dutch* ships, pursued the rest of the *French* fleet, till they ran through the race of *Alderney*, among such rocks and shoals, as our pilots were absolutely against following them; for which that admiral has been also censured, though perhaps without cause, since some of the ablest seamen in *England* were of opinion, that there could not be a more desperate undertaking, than the flight of the *French* ships through that passage. But though despair might justify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that sir *John Ashby* ought to have followed them*. The following original letter will set some other circumstances in a better light, and with greater weight of evidence than could be done otherwise.

Sir Ralph Delaval's letter to the earl of Nottingham.

From on board the Royal Sovereign.

I Believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on the twenty-first instant, admiral *Russel* having made the signal for the fleet to cut their cables, I observed the *French* to be forced from the race of *Alderney*, where they anchored, to the eastward; and finding that some of them endeavoured for the bay of *Cherburgh*, I stood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ships of the enemy, but so close to the shore, and within some rocks, that it was not safe for me to attempt them till I had informed myself of

* The reader will be satisfied of this, if he casts his eye upon a sea-chart, and considers the prodigious risque the *French* ran, in order to get through the race of *Alderney*. This circumstance is particularly taken notice of in our tar song on the victory of *La Hogue*, which shews what the seamen thought of it.

of the road, they being hawled into shoal water. I immediately took my boats, and founded within gun-shot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And that no time might be lost, I went immediately on board the *St. Albans*, where, for the encouragement of the seamen, I hoisted my flag, and having ordered the *Ruby*, with two fire-ships, to attend me, I stood in with them, leaving the great ships without, as drawing too much water. But coming very near, they galled so extremely, and finding the five ships could not get in, I judged it best to retreat without shot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the captains, where it was resolved to attack them on the morning, with all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ships. But after having drawn them into four fathom and a half water, I found we could not do our business, the water being shoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ships to prepare themselves to attempt the burning of them; going myself with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemies shot they should miscarry. Indeed I may say, and I hope without vanity, the service was warm, yet, God be praised, so effectually performed, that notwithstanding all their shot, both from their ships and fort, two of our fire-ships had good success, by burning two of them, the other, by an unfortunate shot, was set on fire, being just going on board the enemy. Indeed, so brave was the attempt, that I think they can hardly be sufficiently rewarded, and doubt not but their majesties will do them right. The third *French* ship being run ashore, and observing the people on board to go ashore by boats full, I ordered the *St. Albans*, the *Reserve*, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cause them to quit her. And after having battered her

some time, I observed she made no resistance, I took all the boats armed, and went on board her. I found abundance of men on board, and several wounded, but no officers: and having caused all the people, as well those that were wounded as others, to be taken out, I set her on fire; and had I not had notice by my scouts, that thirty ships were standing with me, had sent all the *French* on shore, who are now very troublesome to me. The ships we saw proved to be sir *John Ashby* and the *Dutch*, coming from the westward. We are proceeding together to the eastward to *La Hogue*, where I am informed three or four of the enemies ships are, and if so, I hope God will give us good success. I expect to find the admiral to-morrow, where I hope to hear he has destroyed some of the enemies ships, having left him in chase of them last night, standing to the eastward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My lord, I hope you will excuse me, if I presume to pray you will use your interest with the queen, that a reward may be given to the three captains of the fire-ships, and several of the others; for greater zeal and greater bravery I never saw. I pray your excuse for being thus tedious and thus particular. Pray God preserve their majesties, and that their arms may be ever crowned with success by sea and land, shall be the prayers and endeavours of, &c.

Cherburg, May 22, 1692.

P. S. Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville's* ship the *Royal Sun*, which was the most difficult; captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*. The *Admirable* was burnt by our boats. Captain *Fowles* attempted the *Royal Sun*, but was set on fire by the enemies shot, yet deserves as well as the others.

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It is very remarkable, that though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the *French*, yet scarce half of it could engage, which was owing to the original disposition of the fleet, (by which, as the reader may remember, the *Blue Squadron*, of which sir *George Rooke* was vice-admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to the weather) not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as bishop *Burnet* alleges^b: yet the defeat was one of the most signal that ever happened at sea. Besides the *Royal Sun* of 110 guns, the *French* lost another of 104, one of 90, two of 80, four of 76, four of 60, and two of 56 guns^c. If, indeed, sir *John Ashby* could have reached those that took shelter in *St. Maloes*, it had, in a good measure, put an end to the *French* power at sea. As it was, we must acknowledge it a most glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a just tribute of praise to the memory of the brave men who atchieved it.

WE find this affair, notwithstanding all the ruinous consequences that attended it, treated in such a stile by the *French* writers, as to appear rather a victory than a defeat, and all this founded on the single circumstance of their attacking the *English* fleet^d. In order to explain this, we must observe, that count *Tourville* found himself obliged to take this step, in obedience to his orders, which were so express, that they did not leave any room for him to exercise his judgment. He called a council of war, indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein most of the offi-

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^b See his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. ^c Bur-

chet's memoirs, p. 146. Kennet, Oldmixon, Columna rostrata, &c. ^d Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 583. Journal historique de Louis XIV. par P. Daniel, p. 164. Histoire de milice Française, tom. ii. p. 491. Memoirs de Forbin, &c.

cers gave their opinions, that, considering the superiority of the confederate fleet, and the situation themselves were in, it was most prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own sentiments to be the same with theirs, he produced the king's orders, which appeared to be so precise for fighting the *English*, whether strong or weak, that it was unanimously resolved to obey them^e. Several reasons have been assigned for the *French* king's giving such orders, and amongst these the most probable is, that he was mistaken as to the strength of both fleets. As to his own, he looked upon it as certain, that count *d'Estrees*, with his squadron, would have joined the fleet, before any opportunity offered of fighting; and that count *Tourville's* line of battle should have consisted of sixty-six ships at least. He was, however, deceived in both: count *d'Estrees* met with such bad weather in passing the streights of *Gibraltar*, that, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, his squadron did not arrive at *La Hogue* till after the battle; and though there were at that time sixty-six *French* men of war at sea, yet from the detachments made for particular services, count *Tourville* had but forty-four actually under his command, when he took this resolution to fight^f. On the other side it was presumed, that the *English* and *Dutch* fleets could not have joined so early; and that, if they had, still it would be impossible for them to unite with their two great squadrons then at sea, before the junction of the *French* fleets. In this too, the king's foresight failed him; but then it was owing to that bold stroke of admiral

Ruffel

^e Histoire militaire. In all probability count *Tourville* called this council of war to justify himself in respect to the sense in which he understood the king's orders. ^f P. Daniel, M. de Quincy, and indeed all the foreign writers in general agree in this.

Ruffel beforementioned, by which he joined the *Dutch* squadron ten days sooner than he could have done, if he had taken his pilot's advice ^e. There is yet another circumstance mentioned by *French* authors, as supposed by some to have been a reason for the king's orders; and it is this, that the greatest part of the *English* fleet were expected to desert; from which it is pretended they were deterred, by finding count *Tourville* so weak ^h. As these very authors treat this story as a calumny, there seems to be the less reason for my refuting it: yet, since it may be done in very few words, I cannot but observe, that this is absolutely contradicted by another circumstance, in which both our writers and theirs agree, *viz.* that, upon the junction of our fleet, the *French* king sent two orders, by different routs, to count *Tourville*, to forbid his fighting for that reason: but the master of a small vessel, which carried one, was taken off cape *Barfleur* by captain *Wyville*, before he could join the *French* fleet; and the other, which came over land, was too late by several days ⁱ. This, however, plainly proves, that king *Lewis* did not depend upon the desertion of the *English* fleet, but upon their not joining the *Dutch*.

AFTER a particular account of the first day's engagement, the marquis de *Quincy* proceeds thus. "As to the
" advantage gained in this fight, it must be allowed us,
" that count *Tourville* did not lose so much as a ship; nor
" had he any that were disabled: while, on the other
" hand, the enemy lost two; one sunk and the other
" disabled. The rest of their ships were as ill treated as
" his

^e Burchet's naval history, p. 467. I have likewise had the same confirmed to me by officers who served on board the fleet.

^h *Histoire militaire* ubi supra.

ⁱ Burchet's memoirs, p. 468. and the *French* author last cited:

“ his, besides their spending abundance of fire-ships, with-
 “ out any effect. Thus, in spite of the prodigious in-
 “ equality of the fleets, the success was at least equal in
 “ the first day’s engagement : it is true, it happened other-
 “ wise in the succeeding days ; in which, however, there
 “ fell out nothing that ought to tarnish the reputation of
 “ *France* at Sea ; since, while there remained any room
 “ for courage to exert itself, they not only acted gallantly
 “ in their own defence, but made themselves respected by
 “ their enemies. What afterwards followed, was the ef-
 “ fect of unforeseen accidents, and inevitable misfor-
 “ tune.” Yet after this fine flourish, the marquis fairly
 confesses, the *French* flags ran for it, and that their other
 ships did the best they could to follow them ; but partly
 through the want of safe ports on their own coasts, and
 partly through the vigorous pursuit of the *English*, they
 were burnt and destroyed in the manner before related¹.
 Neither doth this writer, or any other of the *French* hi-
 storians, pretend to diminish their own loss, or to say, that
 our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary, they
 ascribe the safe retreat of part of their ships into the road of
St. Maloes, to their lucky passage through that dangerous
 streight which I have before mentioned^m.

WHEN admiral *Ruffel* was satisfied, that the grand
 fleet could not do any further service against the *French*, the
 season of the year, and their circumstances considered, he
 resolved to return to *St. Helens*, as well to refit the vessels
 that were damaged in the late fight, as to obtain a supply of
 provisions and ammunition. This design he executed very
 happily,

¹ *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 587. But all this must be
 owned extremely modest to father Daniel’s account. ¹ *Hi-*
stoire militaire, P. Daniel, &c. ^m Burchet, Kennet,
Columna rostrata.

happily, since he had scarce left the *French* coast, before the weather became so tempestuous, that his heavy ships must have suffered exceedingly; and such as had lost their masts, would probably have perished. Yet this measure, so prudent in itself, and so happy in its event, has been censured as if the admiral had shewn too great eagerness to be at home, and too little care to prosecute his victory ^a. However, before he took this step, he left sir *John Ashby* with twelve *English* ships, and three fire-ships, in conjunction with a *Dutch* squadron of like force, commanded by vice-admiral *Callemberg* with orders to sail to *Havre de Grace*, and to endeavour the destruction of so many of the *French* fleet as had taken shelter there: which service, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's situation, and the stormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable ^o. So that to blame the admiral for not exposing the fleet, when it was impossible for him to have done any thing, is to shew a disposition of finding fault at the expence of the nation's safety, since succeeding commanders are not like to use their judgments freely, when they find their predecessors suffer in reputation, for doing what prudence, and regard to the safety of the fleet, directed. The true reason, or rather the principal reason, which influenced admiral *Russel* on this occasion, was his desire to make the most of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a descent, and carrying them over with all possible expedition, to the coast of *France* ^p.

It is not easy to give any tolerable account of this descent, since neither our public historians, nor the writers of private memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain scheme

^a Burnet's, history, vol. ii. p. 94.
history, p. 467, 468.

^o Burchet's naval
p Kennet, Columna rostrata.

scheme of this design, farther than that it was to be a descent on the *French* coast, in order to alarm and distract that nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the *Dutch* seemed to have very great confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vast expence, and in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpose. At first, several regiments of horse were intended to have been sent; but at last these were reduced to fifty horse, and two hundred dragoons¹. It is evident enough from his conduct, that admiral *Russel* was not in the secret of this design, if indeed there was any such secret; but knew in general only, that these troops were designed to land in *France*, and therefore he thought this the most proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would. This was his great motive for returning to the *English* coast; and, to be sure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his passage, however, he met with very rough weather; and, on his arrival, with a very great disappointment: for, instead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himself furnished with orders and instructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed, by letters from the secretary of state, that no certain resolution was as yet taken in what service to employ them; but that this was left to be settled by a general council of land and sea-officers, where the fleet and the transports should be joined². The plain source of all this confusion was, that the ministers of state were unwilling to take upon themselves the direction of an affair which they were apprehensive would miscarry, but were willing to

¹ *Memoires historiques, Present state of Europe, life of king William.*
² *Burchet's naval history, p. 471. Memoirs of admiral Russel.*

to put it upon the land and sea-officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

AT last, very late in the month of *July*, the transports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and on the 28th of the same month, a council of war was held on board the *Breda*, where the schemes, or rather hints, of the ministry were seriously considered, and upon the whole, resolved to be impracticable^f. The admiral, however, sent
fir

^f We have this in Burchet from the original; and as it is absolutely necessary, for the perfect understanding this part of the history, I shall lay it before the reader.

At a council of war, held on board the *Breda*, the 28th of *July*, present, flag officers, the right honourable Edward Russell, admiral; sir Ralph Delaval, vice admiral of the red; George Rooke, esq; vice admiral of the blue; sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; David Mitchell, esq; first captain to the admiral.

DUTCH. Admiral Allemonde; vice-admiral Callemberg; rear-admiral Vandergoes; rear-admiral Evertzen; rear-admiral Muys.

General and field officers. His grace the duke of Leinster, lieutenant-general of all the forces; earl of Galway; sir Henry Bellasis; monsieur de la Meloniere; sir David Collier; colonel Beveride; monsieur de Cambon; colonel Selwin; earl of Argyll.

The resolutions they came to, follow. "The matter of
"burning the ships at St. Maloes, being maturely considered,
"vice-admiral Rooke, and vice-admiral Callemberg, (who
"were lately sent with a squadron of ships before that port)
"representing the great difficulty of carrying the ships in there,
"by reason of the multitude of rocks, and the rapidity of the
"tides; and the pilots refusing to conduct any frigates, or
"fire ships into the harbour, because the marks might be re-
"moved; it was the opinion of the flag-officers, that it was
"not practicable to attempt any thing against the enemy's ships
"at St. Maloes, with any part of the fleet, until the town it-
"self could be so far reduced by the land forces, as that ships
"might not receive any great annoyance from the enemies
"guns in the attempt; and the general and field-officers of
"the army, were of opinion, that the troops could not do any
"service at that place, without the assistance of the fleet.

"It

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for *John Ashby* with a stout squadron, to endeavour, if possible, to intercept the *French* fleet, which was every day expected to sail from *St. Maloes* to *Brest*; and as soon as this was done, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet and the transports, sailed for *La Hogue*. Secretary *Burchet* seems to say, that in his passage he received orders from the queen to return, and that in obedience to these orders, he came back in a few days to *St. Helens*†. Yet there is something very improbable in this, if we consider, that as soon as an express, dispatched by the duke of *Leinster*, arrived at *Whitehall*

“ It was then considered, whether it was feasible to make any attempt on the enemy’s ships at *Brest*; and although the flag officers were of opinion, that an attempt might be made there, with some hopes of success, if the summer had not been so far spent; yet, considering the winter was approaching, they did not think it proper to attack the enemy’s ships in that port, since the fleet might be exposed to very great inconveniencies, should they be wind bound near that place: and it was the opinion of the general and field-officers of the army, that they should not be able to do any service there against the enemy, unless they could be protected by the fleet. The flag officers, likewise, thought it not safe for the fleet to attempt any thing against the enemy at *Rochefort*; the season of the year being so far spent, and the place itself lying so deep in the bay.

“ It was in the next place considered, whether the fleet might lie with safety on the coast of *Normandy*, to protect the army in an attempt either at *Havre de Grace*, *la Hogue*, or any place thereabouts: and the flag officers judged, that it might lie with safety on that coast, until towards the end of the next month, in case their majesties service should require it.”

The flags came also to the following separate resolution.

“ That, since the transport ships with the land forces were come to the fleet, in order to try what might be done against the enemy, either at *St. Maloes*, *Brest*, or *Rochefort*, it was their opinion, that something might have been attempted, with probability of success, were not the season of the year so far spent as not to admit of the fleets going with safety thither.”

† *Naval history*, p. 476.

Whitehall with this news, the queen sent down to the fleet the marquis of *Carmarthen*, then lord-president of the council, the earl of *Devonshire* lord-steward, the earl of *Dorset* lord-chamberlain, the earls of *Nottingham* and *Rochester*, and the lords *Sidney* and *Cornwallis*, to know the reason of their return, and to take proper measures for their putting to sea again immediately. These lords, on their arrival, found all the troops, except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would re-imbark, and at last they did so; but instead of proceeding to *France*, they sailed, under the escort of a squadron of men of war, part to *Ostend*, and part to *Newport*. There were two hundred and forty transport ships, six or seven thousand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all sorts, and whatever seemed requisite for executing a great design, though so little came of it.

ONE cannot wonder, that on so flagrant a miscarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The *English*, who are not very famous for their patience on such occasions, made no difficulty of saying, that the nation was plundered and abused, and that, after immense sums were drawn out of the people's pockets, by the most grievous and burdensome taxes, they were idly squandered away in chimerical projects. The *Dutch* scrupled not to exclaim against the treachery of the king's counsellors, and to affirm, that every thing that was transacted at *London*, was so speedily betrayed to the *French* court, that it was in vain to hope any success from designs concerted there. The *French*, according to their usual manner, exulted strangely

on

^u Kennet, Burnet, present state of Europe, life of king William, Oldmixon.

^w The political memoirs for the month of September, 1692, say, there were 16,000; but all our historians mention the numbers I have inserted.

on their deliverance, and attributed to the wisdom and power of *Lewis XIV.* what was the pure effect of cross accidents and party-resentments*. I must not, however, forget, that some refined politicians pretended, that this scheme had its effect; that king *William* intended no more than alarming the *French* court, and obliging them to keep great bodies of men constantly on their coasts, and to be at a vast expence to watch the motion of this small body of troops, which gave his majesty the greater liberty of acting in *Flanders*. Yet this appears strangely improbable, if we consider the return of the fleet to *St. Helens*, since, if this had been the design, it would certainly have proceeded directly to *Ostend*. Others would persuade us, that the intention of the court was to have landed the forces at port *St. Sebastians*, but when the orders were opened at sea, all the admirals were of opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The resolutions of the council of war shew, that this conjecture was groundless. The bottom of the business was a design upon *Brest*; which might have been executed, if the transports had been ready, as the admiral advised, in *Mayy*. It is certain therefore, wherever the fault lay it was not in him.

AFTER the sending these troops into *Flanders*, the great ships were ordered about to *Chatham*, and the fleet divided into squadrons, as was judged most convenient for the service: and thus ended the public transactions of this year*. It may not, however, be amiss, before we speak of the parliamentary enquiry into the mistakes in the management of the navy, to mention one or two extraordinary exploits
at

* See Burnet's history of his own times, and the first volume of the state tracts, in the reign of king William. y The reader will find this clearly explained hereafter. z Burnet's memoirs, p. 167, 168. and Naval history, p. 476.

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at sea, though of a private nature ; and the rather, because otherwise, things of this kind, though very worthy of remembrance, must naturally sink into oblivion.

ON the 24th of *February*, a *French* privateer took a small ship called, the *Friends Adventure*, belonging to the port of *Exeter* ; and on the 29th, captain *Fitzgerald*, who commanded the privateer, took out of her, the master and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, *Robert Lyde* of *Topsham*, a man of twenty-three years of age, and *John Wright*, a boy of sixteen, with seven *Frenchmen*, who had orders to navigate the ship to *St. Maloes*. But when they were off cape *la Hogue*, a strong south-east wind drove them from the *French* coast ; upon which the man and boy, on the sixth of *March*, took their opportunity. when two of the *Frenchmen* were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the fore-castle, and three sleeping in their cabbins, to attack them. The mate, with an iron crow, killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow : the boy, at the same instant, knocked down the man on the fore-castle, and then they secured and bound the man at the helm. One of the *Frenchmen*, running up from between decks, to the assistance of his companions, was wounded by the mate ; but the two others, coming to his relief, seized, and had like to have secured him, if the boy had not come up briskly to his assistance, and after a sharp struggle, killed one, and gave the other quarter. Having thus made themselves masters of the ship, they put the two, who were disabled by their wounds, into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and secured them between decks ; one they kept bound in the steerage, and made use of the remaining man to navigate

the vessel, which, on the 9th of *March*, they brought safely into *Topsham*, with five prisoners on board ^a.

ABOUT the same time, one captain *Richard Griffith*, and his boy, *John Codanon*, recovered their sloop called, the *Tryal*, from five *Frenchmen*, put on board them by a captain of a man of war, and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, brought the vessel, with their prisoners, safe into *Palmouth* ^b. These, those strong testimonies of prodigious firmness of mind, and daring resolution, yet at the same time shew, how much our trade was exposed to the *French* privateers; and, indeed, it must be confessed, that it suffered far less in the preceding year, when the *French* were masters at sea, than in this, when their grand fleet was blocked up in their ports ^c.

THIS circumstance of our losing so many ships, after so great a victory at sea, excited much clamour, especially among the merchants; though the reasons assigned for it by the board of admiralty, were very plausible at least, if not satisfactory. They said, that the loss the *French* sustained so early in the year, was the occasion of their seamen being dismissed the king's service, and suffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever; while on the other hand, our keeping so great a fleet so long at sea, rendered it impossible for the admiralty to furnish the merchants with proper convoys, at the same time that so large a number of men as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders

^a See the London Gazette, No. 2749. ^b See the London Gazette, No. 2743. ^c This we find very strongly insisted upon by bishop Burnet, history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 94.

manders of merchant ships, to proceed in their respective voyages worse manned than usual ^d.

THE king opened the sessions of parliament on the fourth of *November*, in which he took notice both of their great success, and great disappointments at sea, which gave occasion to the subsequent enquiries. On the eleventh the house of commons thanked admiral *Ruffel* in very strong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of *la Hogue*; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were said to be lost after that signal victory ^e. The admiral furnished the house with all the letters, papers, and instructions, that were necessary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then sir *John Ashby* was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to destroy the *French* ships, which got into *St. Malers*. Sir *John* cleared himself so handsomely, and set the whole matter in so fair a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenious behaviour at the bar, which gave such satisfaction, that he was dismissed from further attendance ^f. Then the business of the defendant was set on foot, which was also thoroughly explained by the admiral, who shewed, that there were no less than twenty days intervened between his letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, and his lordship's answer. The house of lords entered also into

^d See Chandler's debates in the year 1692. My account is taken from a MS. entitled, *Reflections on the present complaints of ill management at sea.*

^e Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.

^f See the votes of the house of commons. Chandler's debates, &c. So much easier it is to satisfy one of the houses of parliament, than to escape a critical historian.

an examination of this matter, where the earl of *Nottingham* not only justified himself, but reflected very severely upon admiral *Ruffel*; and the house went so far into his resentments, that at a conference they communicated to the commons some papers which the king, at that lord's request, had directed to be laid before them. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that, immediately on the reading them, the commons resolved, that admiral *Ruffel*, in his command of the fleet during the last summer's expedition, had behaved himself with fidelity, courage, and conduct ^s.

IN these debates it appeared clearly to the house, that one great check on the public service, was the want of timely and sufficient supplies; to remedy which in the succeeding year, they, on the second of *December*, resolved, that the sum of 1,926,516*l*. be granted to their majesties for the charge of the navy, including the charge of the ordnance, and the finishing their majesties naval yard at *Hamose* near *Plymouth*, and the building four bomb-vessels, and eight new ships of the fourth rate^h. They likewise took notice of admiral *Ruffel's* inveighing against the want of knowledge in sea-affairs, in such as pretended to direct them, and therefore a motion was made, that they should come to a resolution of addressing his majesty, to constitute a board of admiralty, composed of such persons as were of known experience in maritime affairs; but here the weight of the board, as it then stood, fully appeared, by its passing in the negative i. Yet to shew their distaste of the earl

^s See the votes, Kennet, Burnet, &c. ^h This shews a true British spirit; they join amendment with the discovery of the mischief.

ⁱ It was rightly foreseen, that a lord high admiral

earl of *Nottingham*'s interfering so much in maritime affairs, they addressed the king, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet, should pass through the hands of the commissioners of the admiralty ^k. But the admiral's victory here cost him too high a price; for the king, conceiving that he had shewn a much greater concern for his own interest and reputation, than for his service, resolved, notwithstanding the great things he had done, to lay him aside for the present, and employ such as might make his affairs go easy; which design was executed soon after, though with very indifferent success ^l.

THE warmth the parliament had expressed in providing for the sea-service, joined to the clamour that had been raised on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the sending a stout fleet to sea in the beginning of the spring. In the month of *January*, therefore, his majesty was pleased to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was supposed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of *Nottingham*. Instead of appointing an admiral and com-

F 3 commander

admiral might be much more easily called to account than lords commissioners; because, whenever the latter is done, the commissioners (if they have seats in parliament) must act against themselves. In this case, the grand argument against the address was, that it reflected on his majesty's judgment; and so regard to compliment, got the better of concern for the public. ^k This address had a right intention; for as things were managed before, the admiral was frequently more puzzled to understand his orders, than to execute them: and whenever disputes arose about them, the admiral was sure to suffer; for the secretary intrenched himself behind his directions, so that there was no coming at him but through the council. ^l Bishop Burnet represents the king's conduct in this respect in its true light, vol. ii. p. 103.

mander in chief, he granted a commission to *Henry Killgrew*, esq; *sir Ralph Delaval*, and *sir Cloudesley Shovel*, to execute that office. *Bishop Burnet* says, that the two first were thought to be so much in king *James's* interest, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of such as would betray him; for though no exception lay against *Shovel*, yet he was but one to two ^m. Whether the bishop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that such a joint commission is a very bad expedient. Soon after his majesty made *George Rooke*, esq; vice-admiral of the *Red*, and *Matthew Aylmer*, esq; rear-admiral of that squadron. *John lord Berkley*, vice-admiral, and *David Mitchell*, esq; rear-admiral of the *Blue*; and these promotions were declared on the eighth of *February* following. To give still a higher Proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this necessary part of the public service, his majesty soon after went down to *Portsmouth*, as well to view the state of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in person into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occasion his majesty went on board the ship where vice-admiral *Rooke* had hoisted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon that admiral; after which he returned to *London* very well satisfied as to the state of the fleet at *Spithead* ⁿ.

THE war in *Flanders* requiring his majesty's presence early in the spring, the admirals were instructed to make all possible dispatch in getting out the fleet to sea, to endeavour, if possible, to block up the enemy in their ports, especially in *Brest*, which was thought very practicable, and

^m See his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 104. ⁿ See the memoirs of *sir George Rooke*, in the fourth volume.

and to take all possible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the first part of their charge, they began to take half the seamen out of privateers; but this, notwithstanding the pressing occasions of the public, and the great scarcity of men, was thought so heavy a grievance, and was besides so visible a favour to the enemy, that it was refused. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at *Brest*, which was a scheme of some of the land-admirals, and was always thought (what it afterwards appeared to be) by the ablest of our seamen, a very dangerous, and, at the same time, a very impracticable project. Provisions running scarce, a mess was increased from four to six men; and yet, in spite of all these contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at *St. Helens*, till the seventh of *May*, 1693, which lost them the opportunity of blocking up either of the *French* squadrons. As to the merchants, their complaints grew still louder than ever: such as were concerned in the *Levant* or *Mediterranean* trade, had their ships lying waiting for a convoy many months, nay, some above a year and a half; and the excuses they received from the *Admiralty* were of such a nature, as put it out of their power to judge when they might expect a convoy; for this, they were told, depended on the intelligence of the board, and the merchants were but too sensible, they had no intelligence at all.

F 4

WHEN

^o Burchet's memoirs, p. 166, 167. Kennet, Burnet, life of king William, Oldmixon.

^p The complaints made by the merchants, did not only run high, but were extremely well supported. They shewed, beyond the power of refutation, the folly of suffering ambition, interest, or intrigue, to prefer unqualified men to that board, which directed the naval power of England: and

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WHEN the *English* and *Dutch* fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected something very considerable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too soon, that things were in their old condition; that, in short, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themselves. In short, the only thing they could resolve on was, that sir *George Rooke* should command the squadron appointed to convoy the *Mediterranean* fleets; and that in case they had no exact intelligence of the *French* squadrons, the fleet should accompany sir *George* into a certain latitude. If this design had been executed as soon

as

and yet the mischief was not, in truth could not, be amended; because the more experienced people, who had been long in the service, were thought disaffected, and so it was feared the remedy might have proved worse than the disease. The line of battle published here and in Holland, stood thus:

| ENGLISH | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | Fire-ships. |
|---------------------|----|-----|------|-----|----|-----|-------------|
| Vice of the Blue | 0. | 3. | 5. | 1. | 0. | 0. | 3. |
| Admiral of the Blue | 2. | 1. | 5. | 1. | 0. | 1. | 3. |
| Rear of the Blue | 0. | 2. | 0. | 1. | 0. | 0. | 2. |
| Rear of the Red | 1. | 2. | 5. | 1. | 0. | 0. | 2. |
| Commander in chief | 3. | 1. | 5. | 1. | 2. | 2. | 3. |
| | 6. | 9. | 26. | 5. | 2. | 3. | 13. |

In all 51.

| DUTCH | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | Fire-ships. |
|--------------|----|-----|------|-----|----|-----|-------------|
| Vice admiral | 1. | 2. | 4. | 2. | 0. | 0. | 2. |
| Admiral | 2. | 1. | 6. | 1. | 0. | 2. | 3. |
| Vice admiral | 3. | 0. | 4. | 3. | 0. | 1. | 1. |
| | 6. | 3. | 14. | 6. | 0. | 3. | 6. |

In all 37.

Burehet's memoirs, p. 181.

as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were so timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of *June* before they sailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their measures at random. A circumstance not rashly to be asserted, and yet too important to be concealed, when supported by undeniable evidences.

THE *French*, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence in the disposition of their naval strength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the mighty loss he had sustained at *La Hogue*, the *French* king bought several large ships, and turned them into men of war, caused such as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to sea; and that they might not be detained for want of men, he suspended in a manner the whole trade of *France* for a year, by forbidding any ships to go to sea, till his squadrons were manned; lastly, to raise the spirits of the seamen, as well as to encourage such officers as had done their duty in the last unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had precisely the effect he expected from it, and excited such a spirit of diligence and emulation, as is easier to be conceived than described. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the *French* fleet sailed from the ocean for the *Mediterranean* in the middle of the month of *May*, in three squadrons, consisting all together of seventy-one ships

* Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, state-tracts in the reign of king William, and in short, all the memoirs of that time. † *Histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. p. 593, 705. *Memoirs de Fourbin*, P. Daniel.

ships of war, besides tenders, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships; so that they were actually on the coast of *Portugal*, before our *Smyrna* fleet sailed ^u. Almost all our writers agree, that the *French* fleet had very exact intelligence from hence, and laid their scheme for surprizing this rich fleet very early in the winter. I cannot find any thing of this sort in the *French* writers I have met with; and yet they are ready enough to magnify the policy of their court upon other occasions: I would not, however, be understood to discredit what our authors say on this subject, since it is very probable they are in the right, and the *French*, historians might either want proper information, or think it more glorious for the *French* arms to let this treacherous correspondence pass in silence ^w.

THE *English* fleet left sir *George Rooke* with the *Straight's* Squadron on the sixth of *June* in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. of *Ushant*, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no account of the enemy. The lords of the *Admiralty* at home, however, had an account directly from *Portugal* of M. *Tourville's* coming into *Lagos-Bay*, between cape *St. Vincent* and *Pero*, with no less than one hundred and fourteen sail, great and small. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was instantly dispatched to the fleet, which consisted now of sixty-nine ships of the line of battle ^x. On the twenty-third of *June* a council of war was held at *Torbay*, in which it was resolved to bear away for *Lisbon* directly,

^u Burchet's memoirs, p. 183. *Histoire militaire*, tom. ii. p. 707.

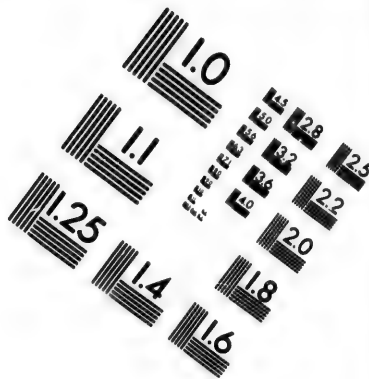
^w These points are fully cleared in the proceedings against Mr. Abraham Anselm, secretary to the admirals Killgrew, Delaval, and Shovel, &c. 4to. 1694.

^x Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William.

directly, in case they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all danger, orders were immediately dispatch'd to sir *George Rooke*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. If this resolution had been pursued, and the fleet had actually sailed for *Lisbon*, something might have been done worthy of the *English* nation. But upon the first of *July* another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themselves had before propos'd, yet the flags came to a new resolution, which was to submit it to her majesty, whether, if the *French* squadrons were joined, and should sail north-about, the coasts of *England* might not be expos'd to some insult during their absence. This was doing what they had always charged the council with doing, viz. altering their scheme when it ought to be put in execution. They knew well enough, that a hint of the coast being in danger, would be sufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might easily have been discern'd to be what its consequences shew'd it, a weak and ruinous measure; which expos'd sir *George Rooke*, and the rich fleet under his care, to be attacked by the whole force of *France*, while we had a superior fleet riding, to no purpose in the world, in our channel. But it is now time to leave it, and speak of the conduct and fortune of that vice-admiral on this critical occasion.

It has been before observed, that the grand fleet quit-
ted sir *George Rooke* on the sixth of *June*, 1693, without
having at that time any certain intelligence either of the
force of the *French* squadrons, or where they were sail'd;
which put that admiral under very great difficulties, and
therefore





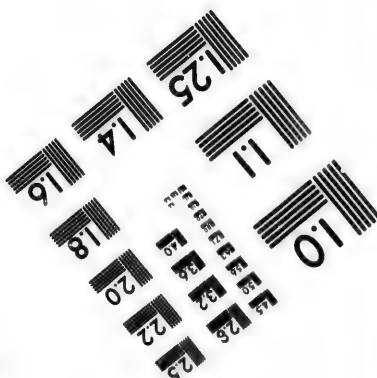
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therefore we cannot wonder that he expressed some concern at the great risque the numerous fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, was like to run ². It is true, his squadron was very strong, consisting of no less than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the Dutch vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and rear-admiral *Hopson*. But then the merchant-men under his care were near four hundred, and these not only *English* and *Dutch*, but *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Hamburgers*, *Flemings*, &c. so that our reputation as a maritime power, was in a manner staked for their safety². When he left the fleet he had a very fair and strong gale of wind, which carried him at such a rate, as prevented any of the advice-boats, sent with fresh instructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was so unlucky to, as not to meet with any ships at sea that could give him notice of marshal *Tourville's* fleet being in that part of the world. In this situation of things he pursued, as was his duty, his instructions, and having left by the way the vessels bound for *Bilboa*, *Lisbon*, *St. Ubes*, and other places, he continued his course for the *Streights* ³.

ON

² Burchet's memoirs, p. 185. See this matter further explained in our memoirs of sir George Rooke.

² Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, and the State of Europe for July, 1693.

³ The new orders sent him, were to this purpose; that in case he was obliged to go into the river of Lisbon, and received certain intelligence, during his stay there, that the Toulon squadron had joined the rest of the French fleet, and were together gone northward, from the coast of Portugal, he should leave a proper number of ships, both English and Dutch, to proceed up the streights with the Turkey fleet, and himself return with the rest, and join the body of our fleet in these seas, and, not meeting them in his passage, to make the port of Plymouth, and there expect further order. But these instructions

ON the fifteenth of *June*, he ordered the *Lark*, a sixth rate man of war, and a prime sailer, to stretch a head of his scouts in *Lagos-Bay*, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but, through some oversight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the scouts discovered two of the enemy's ships, and engaged them in the afternoon, till perceiving eight or ten sail under the cape, they thought fit to quit the *Frenchmen*, to inform the admiral of what they had seen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's strength could be known, was over-ruled^c. On the seventeenth, about break of day, ten sail of *French* men of war were discovered, with some small ships, which were chased by part of the *English* squadron, and a fire-ship taken, the crew of which positively asserted, that the whole squadron, though there were three flags amongst them, consisted of no more than fifteen ships of the line. About noon the falsity of this assertion was discovered, and sir *George Rooke* easily counted eighty sail of men of war. Sixteen of these (amongst which were three flags) plied up to the *English* squadron, while the

vice-

tions could be of no use to him, since they were not sent till the twenty-third, and he fell in with the French three days afterwards. Secretary Burchet, indeed, says, they were sent the third of June; but his own account shews that to be impossible, since he owns, that sir George did not quit the grand fleet, till the sixth. ^c This seems to have been the principal cause of all the mischief that afterwards followed. Indeed the admiral was so sensible of the dangerous consequences that might attend the not taking this step, as to call in five or six captains who were on board his ship by chance, in order to have their opinions; and they agreeing with the council of war, he was forced to submit after all, directly contrary to his judgment.

vice-admiral of the *White* stood off to sea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ships ^d.

THE *Dutch* vice-admiral, about three o'clock, sent a message to sir *George*, that being now sensible of the strength of the *French* fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their design, he thought it absolutely necessary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their absolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the sentiment of sir *George* himself, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this message, he was resolved to push for it; but considering afterwards, that, if the *Dutch* admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the squadron and the fleet under their convoy should suffer greatly by this measure, the blame would fall entirely on himself, he brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, that the *Dutch*, and the heavy ships, might work up to the windward. He at the same time sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to use their utmost endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of *Faro*, *St. Lucar*, or *Cadiz*. This was all that it was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that these orders were extremely well calculated for lessening, as much as possible, the misfortune; and it shewed great presence of mind in sir *George Rooke*, to provide so wisely for the most distant part of the fleet, when himself, and those about him, were in such imminent danger ^e.

THE admiral and vice admiral of the *Blue*, with about ten sail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the *English* squadron

^d Burchet's memoirs, p. 189. See also captain Littleton's letter in the State of Europe, for the month of July, 1693. • Burchet, Columna rostrata, life of king William.

dron very fast, so that about six in the evening they came up with two *Dutch* men of war, and some merchant-ships of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains *Schrijver* and *Vander-Poel*, who finding themselves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of escaping, tacked in for the shore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which saved the rest of the fleet. The *Dutch* captains made a most desperate defence, but were at last over-powered by numbers, and taken ^f. The admiral stood off all night, having a fresh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ships about him, among which were only two *Dutch*, and one *Hamburgher*. Five sail of the enemy's ships appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which last dogged him all day. On the nineteenth sir *George Rooke* sent for the officers of the men of war and merchant-ships on board, in order to get the best account he could of the state they were in, and to concert the most proper measures for securing the remainder. In this council most of the officers present were
for

^f It is very strange, that even our best historians should be so inaccurate as to their dates. According to Burchet, this engagement happened on the eighteenth of June; according to bishop Kennet, it must have been the sixteenth. One would have thought the former most like to be in the right, on account of the opportunities given him by his office; and the rather in this particular, because I am satisfied he copied sir George Rooke's narrative: and yet he is absolutely wrong, as appears, not only from other accounts, but from his own: the marquis de Quincy places this action on the twenty-seventh, N. S. that is the seventeenth, and it must have happened upon that day, even according to Burchet's account; for he tells us, that the day after the engagement, was Sunday: now it appears, that the eighteenth of June, 1693, fell on a Sunday; consequently the action must have happened on the seventeenth, and so indeed, sir George Rooke's original account, and all the papers of those times, have it.

for going either to *Lisbon*, or bearing away for *Ireland*. The admiral, however, considering that they had not water enough on board to enable them to carry the last mentioned scheme into execution, and having also some hopes of meeting with part of his scattered fleet at the *Madeira*s, he determined to sail thither; which he accordingly performed &c.

If the enemy in executing this design of theirs, had shewed the same dexterity as in contriving, it is not easy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been saved. But whether their admirals made a wrong disposition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not strike near so heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the mischief they did was very great, and severely felt both by the *English* and *Dutch* trade. According to some accounts, besides four of the largest *Smyrna* ships, which M. *Costlogon* burnt or sunk at *Gibraltar*, and seven which he took, M. *de Tourville* and the count *d'Estrees* took two *Dutch* men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an *English* man of war, took twenty-nine merchant-men, and destroyed about fifty more^h. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million sterling, or thereabouts; whereas the *French*, if they had taken the whole fleet, (as, considering their prodigious superiority, they might easily have done) must have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it was, the loss fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching themⁱ.

THE

^g Burchet, Kennet, life of king William, Oldmixon, &c.
^h Kennet, Burnet; but more particularly the Present State of Europe, for the year 1693. ⁱ I ground my computation on the account given by the Dutch writers; for, notwithstanding

THE *French* writers treat this affair as one of the most glorious actions ever performed by their arms at sea. M. de *Quincy* gives us a very concise account of the engagement, and then runs into a long detail of the prizes that were taken, and of the rich cargoes with which they were laden. He seems to be mistaken in many circumstances; particularly in reporting our squadron to have consisted of twenty-seven men of war, and these too he makes much larger ships than they were. Father *Daniel* informs us, that M. *Tourville* at first apprehended the whole confederate fleet to have been ready to attack him; and, as he had not yet joined count *d'Estrees*, he thought proper to detach twenty sail of stout ships to attack the *English*, in case they proved the *Smyrna* fleet, and disposed the rest of his ships in the best order possible for supporting them. This, he says, was executed so vigorously, that sixty merchant-men were burnt, sunk, or run ashore, and twenty-seven taken ^k. The accounts published at that time, admit a great mismanagement in the *French* commanders; some of them charge it upon M. *Tourville*, others on M. *Gabaret*^l. The truth seems to be, that M. *Tourville's*

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orders

ing the noise this affair made in England, and its becoming afterwards, as the reader will find, the subject of a parliamentary enquiry; yet no certain or exact account was ever published here.

^k These accounts are to be found in the *Histoire Militaire*, tom. ii. p. 708. and in the *histoire de la milice Francoise*, tom. ii. p. 492. As to the account taken from the memoirs of the count de *Fourbin*, upon which some of our writers lay a great stress, I must confess, I do not believe it, because I am convinced those memoirs are not genuine.

^l I meet with this in the *Gazettes* and *Journals* of those times, which say, that M. *Tourville* threw the blame upon *Gabaret*, as not punctually obeying his orders; as on the other hand, *Gabaret* charged it on the marshal, as not acting vigorously enough, which

orders for stretching out to sea at the beginning of the action, were not well obeyed; and that the pressing so hard on the two *Dutch* men of war, and the ships that remained with them, was a false step they could never afterwards recover. In order, however, to hide these mistakes from the eyes of the people of *France*, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmost, a pompous account was printed at *Toulon*, full of very extraordinary circumstances, and swelling the loss of the *English* and *Dutch* to the amount of sixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was^m. The modesty and impartiality of the *Dutch* accounts of this unfortunate affair, deserve particular notice. They state the loss very near as high as the best *French* writers; but at the same time they confess it had been much greater, but for the prudence of sir *George Rooke*, on whose conduct they bestow such praises, as a compleat victory would scarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deserved them; because even bishop *Burnet*, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong step in this whole proceedingⁿ.

BUT

which reflection is said, to have put him upon exposing himself in such a manner at Malaga, as had like to have cost him his life. ^m An extract of this account I have seen and read; and which, though calculated to do honour to the French nation, does in reality much more to the Dutch; for it is confessed, that eighteen French ships had much ado to master two of the States men of war. ⁿ The sieur de Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter. "This is certain, that they missed the greatest part of the convoy, and that sir George Rooke, upon this occasion, acquired infinitely more honour, than those who commanded the French fleet. While the one, though unable to resist such as attacked him in the midst of threatening dangers, by
his

BUT the consequences of this engagement were no less fatal than the action itself; for M. *Tourville*, to make amends for letting so great a part of the *English* fleet escape, resolved to do his utmost to take or destroy such ships as had retired into the *Spanish* ports. With this view he came on the twentieth of *July* before *Malaga*, and sent a message to the governor, that he had no design to injure the town, unless they attempted to defend the *English* and *Dutch* ships; in which case he would bombard it. The governor answered, he had the king of *Spain's* orders to protect them, and he would do it to the utmost of his power. There were four *Dutch* ships, and one *English* in the mole, which he attacked with great fury^o. The men on board the ships made a long and gallant defence, especially the *Union* frigate, which the *French* twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulsed. But, when it appeared a thing impossible to defend the ships any longer against so unequal a force, the masters thought proper to bore holes and sink them^p. To *Cadiz* they sent a squadron of fourteen men of war and two bomb-ketches, and soon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the *English* and *Dutch* ships immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were so well defended by the cannon of the place, that the *French* were forced to content themselves with burning two ships they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from

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getting

“ his prudence, dexterity, and courage, saved the best part of
 “ the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that others suf-
 “ fered themselves to be deprived by the superior skill of this
 “ admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept it, for-
 “ tune put into their hands.” ^o Burchet, Kenner, Old-
 mixon, Quincy, Daniel. ^p Some have condemned this, as
 done too hastily; but without question, the next thing to pre-
 serving a ship and cargo, is destroying it in time.

getting in with the rest [¶]. At *Gibraltar*, after an obstinate defence, several rich ships were burnt and sunk, together with a *Dutch* man of war. The marquis de *Quincy*, after relating these exploits particularly, tells us, that marshal *Tourville* sent twenty-four prizes into *Toulon*, and computes the whole loss at thirty-six millions of livres, or thereabouts [†]. It is now time to return to admiral *Rooke*, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchant-men under his protection.

WHEN he formed a resolution of going to the *Madeiras*, he sent home the *Lark* man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his course for those islands, where he found at his arrival the *Monk*, captain *Fairborne*, and no other ship [¶]. After taking in water, and what else he had occasion for there, on the twenty-seventh of *June* he sailed for *Ireland*, and on the third of *August*, 1693, he arrived safely at *Cork*, with about fifty sail of ships of all sorts of men of war and merchant-men [†]. Soon after his arrival, he received orders from the admirals, to send six

[¶] According to a Spanish list printed at *Seville*, the ships preserved here, were three English men of war, sixteen merchant-men, two Dutch men of war, eleven merchant-ships, three Danes, two *Hamburghers*, one *Swede*, one *Ostender*, and one *Venetian*. *Burchet* reflects, notwithstanding all this, on the governor of *Cadiz*; but, for all that I can find, without any reason; for, as to sending *M. Tourville* some fresh provisions for his own table, I look upon it as an act of civility, not of treachery.

[†] The marquis steers in the middle. Marshal *Tourville's* own account says, the masters of the ships that were taken, computed the loss at twenty millions; and the relation published by authority at *Toulon*, speaks of sixty millions. *Burchet's* memoirs.

[†] The sieur du *Mont*, in his memoirs for the month of *August*, 1693, says, sir *George Rooke* arrived with twelve sail of English and Dutch men of war, and between forty and fifty sail of merchant-ships.

of the largest ships to the fleet, and to go with the rest to *Kinsale*. But sir *George* conceiving that little service could be expected from the latter, because they were in a very bad condition, chose therefore to send them under the command of captain *Fairborne* to *Kinsale*, and went in person with the six men of war to the fleet ^u; of the proceedings of which, from the time of sir *George Rooke's* departure, we are next to speak, though that is both a difficult and unpleasant subject.

THE flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of *July*, in which it was resolved to sail forty leagues S. W. of *Ushant*, and there to consider what would be the next convenient step for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the *Mediterranean*. In pursuance of this resolution, they put to sea two days after; but were so terribly ruffled by a storm, that they were forced to put into *Torbay*. Upon the seventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to sea again, and proceeded to their intended station, from whence they sent out light ships in search of sir *George Rooke*, and to cruize on the *Spanish* coast, in order to get some intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders, we have before mentioned, to the admiral; but the latter were not so lucky as to gain any light into the proceedings of the *French* fleet ^w. While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill consequences. Our fleet had sailed when they were very indifferently furnished with provisions, upon a promise that these should be immediately sent after them. In the beginning of the month of *August*, fifty vessels, laden with provisions, sailed from the

^u Burchet's memoirs.
mixon, life of king William.

^w Burchet, Burnet, Kennet, Old

river of *Thames* in quest of the fleet, under the convoy of two *English*, and five *Dutch* men of war: but the fleet being forced from their station, they not only missed them, but lost their convoy. They met, however, with sir *George Rooke's* squadron in its passage from *Kinsale*, and he brought them safe to the fleet on the sixteenth of *August* *; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month they had orders to return to *St. Helen's*, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole summer, on shore: and then the fleet was dispersed, having done as little for the honour of the *English* nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out y.

ON the nineteenth of *September*, 1693, fifteen *Dutch* ships of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majesty to *Holland*; and twenty-six men of war, and seven fire-ships, were assigned for the winter guard, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it soon after appeared, that there was yet a secret expedition to be undertaken, in order to soften a little the joy of the *French*, for having taken the *Smyrna* fleet z.

ON the thirteenth of *November*, commodore *Benbow*, in conjunction with captain *Phillips*, the engineer, with a squadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-vessels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, sailed for *St. Maloes*, where they arrived on the sixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before *Quince-Fort*. Three of the bomb-vessels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore
in,

* Present State of Europe, memoirs of admiral *Rooke*.
 y Burchet, Burnet, Kennet, Oldmixon, &c. z It is remarkable, that this is not so much as mentioned by secretary Burchet.

in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were constrained to wrap, to prevent grounding. On the seventeenth they went in again, and threw seventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the eighteenth, but with frequent intermissions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an island near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being *Sunday*, they lay still till the evening, when by the favour of a fresh gale of wind, a strong tide, and a very dark night, they sent in an extraordinary fire-ship^a, of about three hundred tons burthen, (which the *French* will have to be a monstrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to ashes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeseen accident, for she struck upon a rock, within pistol-shot of the place where they intended to have moored her. The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpose. At last, finding the vessel begin to open, and fearing she might sink, he set fire to her. The sea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcasses from taking fire. The explosion, however, was terrible, beyond description; it shook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glass and earthen-ware for three leagues round, and struck off the roofs of three hundred houses. The most extraordinary thing of all was this, that the captain of the vessel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a house it fell upon, down to the ground^b. The greatest part of the walls toward,

^a I take these particulars from commodore Benbow's account.
^b The French writers say, that this was one of those dreadful machines

the sea also fell down ; and, if there had been a sufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with ease have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demolished *Quince-Fort*, carried off eighty prisoners, and frightened most of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It struck a panick into the inhabitants of *St. Maloes*, whence the most troublesome of the *French* privateers were fitted out, and it served to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the sea, by shewing them what a very small squadron of *English* ships could do, when commanded by men of resolution and experience.

THE king returned to *England* in the latter end of the month of *October*, 1693, under the escorte of a small squadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral *Mitchel*. On the sixth of *November* his majesty declared his resolution to employ admiral *Ruffel* the next year at sea. On the

machines stiled infernals ; which the Dutch made use of to destroy the bridge over the *Scheldt*, when the prince of *Parma* besieged *Antwerp*, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive by the following description, that it was in fact a fire ship, contrived to operate when moored close to the town walls. It was a new ship, of about 300, or, as the marquis de *Quincy* says, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold, were 100 barrels of powder ; these were covered with pitch, sulphur, rosin, tow, straw, and faggots ; over which lay beams, bored through to give air to the fire ; and upon these, lay 300 carcasses filled with grenadoes, chain shot, iron bullets, pistols loaded, and wrapped in linnen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glass-bottles. There were six holes, or mouths, to let out the flames, which were so vehement, as to consume the hardest substances ; and could be checked by nothing, but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this vessel, was blown up in her ; because they found the body of a man, well dressed, upon the shore, and in his pocket book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the vessels.

the seventh the parliament met, and his majesty opened the sessions with a speech which began thus. " I am always glad to meet you here, and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present, by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that the former was only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which has brought so great a disgrace upon the nation, I have repented it extremely^c; and, as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future. And it may well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of this kingdom." Upon this the house of commons came unanimously to a resolution, that

^c There had been an enquiry set on foot before the council, as appears from the following notice, printed in the London-Gazette, October 25th, 1693.

" Whereas a report has been raised, and spread, by Henry Killegrew, esq; sir Ralph Delaval, and sir Cloudesley Shovel, admirals of their majesties fleet, that the right honourable the lord viscount Falkland, one of the lords of their majesties most honourable privy council, (he was also at the head of the admiralty) did, upon reading a paper at the board, stifle something that was material to their justification; the lords of the council, having considered and examined into the matter, are satisfied, and do declare, that the report is false and scandalous. Although upon examination, it did also appear, that something happened, which might mislead the admirals into that error. And it is ordered in council, that this be printed in the Gazette."

that they would support their majesties and their government, enquire into the miscarriages of the fleet in the preceding summer, and consider of all possible ways and means for conserving the trade of the nation.

THE house of commons, to shew they were in earnest, examined all the admirals strictly, particularly sir *George Rooke*, though he was so ill as to be scarce able to speak, and withal so lame of the gout, that a chair was set for him at the bar of the house. On the seven:eenth of *November* they came to a resolution, “ That, upon examination of “ the miscarriages of the fleet, this house is of opinion, “ that there hath been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement in that affair.” Yet afterwards a negative was put on a resolution, to censure the admiral’s commanding in chief ; and so by degrees, after much noise and clamour, the matter blew over. Two circumstances contributed principally to their safety ; the first was, that it could not be made clear to the house, that the admirals had information of the *Brest* Squadron’s putting to sea on the eleventh of *May*, though it was evident that such advice had been given to the privy-council : the second, that the lord *Falkland*, who was very active in this prosecution of the admirals, fell under the displeasure of the house, for very indirect practices in relation to the navy ; which gave the more offence, because he was at that time first commissioner of the *Admiralty*. Upon the whole, regard to truth obliges me to say, that there was enough done in this affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or satisfy the nation ; which last, however, ought to be the end of all parliamentary enquiries a.

BUT,

a What bishop Burnet says on this subject, is so concise, and at the same time so strong, and to the purpose, that I think myself obliged to lay it before the reader, for his further information.

“ The

BUT, notwithstanding the admirals escaped, yet many things were laid open in the house of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the sum of 1,036,415*l.* was due for seamen's wages. This struck the house with astonishment, and accounted at the same time very fully for the backwardness of the sailors in entering into the public service. To provide a remedy for so great an evil, and to encourage

" The enquiry into the conduct at sea, particularly with
" relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held
" long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays,
" by which, it seemed, a train was laid, that they should not
" get out of our ports, till the French were ready to lie in their
" way and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was
" much complained of: the instructions that the admirals who
" commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet-council,
" were thought ill given, and yet worse executed. Their or-
" ders seemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: nor
" had they shewed any zeal in doing more than strictly to
" obey such orders: they had very cautiously kept within
" them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a
" tittle. They had used no diligence to get certain informa-
" tion concerning the French fleet, whether it was still in Brest,
" or had sailed out. But in that important matter, they had
" trusted general and uncertain reports too easily. Nor had
" they sailed far enough with Rooke to see him past danger.
" To all this, their answer was, that they had observed their
" orders: they had reason to think the French were still in
" Brest; that therefore it was not safe to sail too far from the
" coast of England, when they had, as they understood, ground
" to believe, that they had left behind them a great naval
" force, which might make an impression on our coast, when
" they were at too great a distance from it. The getting cer-
" tain intelligence from Brest, was represented as impractica-
" ble. They had many specious things to say in their own
" defence, and many friends to support them: for it was now
" the business of one party to accuse, and of another to justify
" their conduct. In conclusion, there was not ground sufficient
" to condemn the admirals, since they had followed their in-
" structions: so a vote passed in their favour."

encourage the seamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000*l.* towards the discharge of the debt, and 2,000,000*l.* for the service of the fleet, that his majesty might be able to perform the promise he had made them, of taking care that things should go next year better at sea *. His majesty also made several changes in the ministry, which gave great satisfaction; for the late enquiries had made it evident, that the dependants on some great men were principally concerned in giving information to the *French* of all our motions. A conduct which, however coloured with their pretended affection for their old master king *James*, was a most gross and glaring treason against their country; such as ought to have drawn upon them the severest punishments while living, and which deserve to be transmitted to posterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in succeeding times.

BEFORE we speak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be necessary to give some account of the sending sir *Francis Wheeler*, with his squadron, into the *Mediterranean*, as that was a measure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year; though its being altogether independant of other affairs, made it not so proper to mention it before. The great blow the *English* and *Dutch* commerce had received there, by the intercepting the *Smyrna* fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in *Spanish* harbours, engaged the board of *Admiralty* to send their orders for sir *Francis Wheeler* to proceed with a squadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a *Dutch* vice-admiral and his squadron, to the *Mediterranean*, where he had instructions to use his utmost endeavour to procure the safe
return

* Kennet, Oldmixon, Chandler's debates.

return of the plate-fleet into *Cadiz*; then he was to leave a sufficient convoy for bringing home the ships in that port to *England*: he was next to convoy the *Turkey* ships as far as the channel of *Malta*; then, in conjunction with the *Spanish* fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ships were about to return; and after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ships ready to sail from any of the ports in the *Streights*, or from *Cadiz* ^f. On the twenty-seventh of *November*, in pursuance of these instructions, he sailed, and on the fourth of *December* sent the ships bound to *Oporto* thither under a convoy, as two days after he did those bound for *Lisbon* and *St. Ubes*; and having by his vigilance prevented a design of the *French* to intercept part of the merchant-ships under his convoy, he arrived on the nineteenth of *January* in the bay of *Cadiz*, having lost company in his passage, with only one of a hundred and sixty-five ships which sailed with him from *England* &c. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved afterwards so unfortunate!

ON the admiral's arriving at *Cadiz*, he found the *Spanish* fleet in no condition to sail; but had the satisfaction of finding the *Flota* safely arrived ^h. On the twenty-fifth of *January* rear-admiral *Nevile* joined him with the ships he had ordered to cruize off cape *St. Vincent*, together with
the

^f These instructions may be found at large in Burchet's memoirs, p. 201. and are indisputably those given to the admiral. But the French published abundance of strange stories about sir Francis Wheeler's commission; such as that he intended to bombard Genoa, in order to force that republic to comply with the demands of the king of Spain; that he had views on the pope's territories, and whatever else they thought might prove a means of incensing the Italian princes. ^g See the Present State of Europe, for January, 1694. ^h Burchet's memoirs, p. 206.

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the detached convoys which the *French* in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir *Francis Wheeler*, upon this, appointed a squadron of four *English* and as many *Dutch* men of war, with a fire-ship, under the command of vice-admiral *Hopson*, to bring home the merchant-ships that were ready ; and on the tenth of *February*, sailed with the rest of the squadron to execute the remaining part of his instructions. On the seventeenth of the same month, being off the bay of *Gibraltar*, and having been driven out of the *Streights-Mouth*, he met with a storm, which increased till the nineteenth in the morning, when the admiral seeing the *Gut*, stood away for it, and made a proper signal to the rest of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral *Callemberg*, who first saw his signal, and other ships. But they, having the bay of *Gibraltar* open, and in all probability mistaking it for the *Streights-Mouth*, put in there, which occasioned their unhappy misfortune ; for it being a lee-shore, foul ground, and their sails flying into the air, they were forced to let go their anchors, of which many were lost, most of their cables spoiled, and several of their ships run on shoreⁱ. In the mean time the *Sussex*, on board

ⁱ The particulars of this misfortune may be seen in the following List. Men.

| | |
|--|-----|
| The Cambridge, a ship of 70 guns, ran ashore about four in the morning, and lost | 100 |
| The Lumley Castle, lost | 130 |
| The Serpent bomb-vessel, foundered | 25 |
| The William ketch, ran ashore | 15 |
| The Mary ketch, foundered | 16 |
| The Great George, a Turkey ship, lost | 90 |
| The Aleppo Factor, lost | 3 |
| The Golden Frigate, of Venice, lost | 23 |
| The Berkshire, a Turkey ship | 15 |
| The Indian-Merchant, a Turkey ship | 2 |
| The William, for Leghorn, lost | 1 |
| | 409 |

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board which the admiral was, foundered at sea, and himself, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were lost, only two *Turks* escaping. The admiral's body was soon after found on a sand-bank in his shirt and slippers, it was guessed from thence, that seeing the ship about to sink, he intended to have thrown himself into the sea, and attempt to save himself by swimming^k. The whole Squadron suffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at *Gibraltar*, and at length, in the beginning of *May*, sailed for *Cadiz*^l. In the mean time vice-admiral *Hopson*, in pursuance of the orders before-mentioned, sailed with the homeward-bound ships, and arrived safely off the *Lizard* on the fifth of *April*, 1694^m.

WE have before observed one of the first steps taken by king *William* after his return from *Flanders*, and his hearing of the unfortunate affair of the *Smyrna* fleet, was, the appointing *Edward Russel*, esq; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet which should put to sea the next spring. As a further testimony of his majesty's confidence in that great man, he directed a new commission of *Admiralty*, wherein *Edward Russel*, esq; sir *John Lowther*, *Henry Priestman*, esq; *Robert Austen*, esq; sir *Robert Rich*, sir *George Rooke*, and sir *George Hubland*, were includedⁿ. The command of the fleet being thus provided for, the next thing was, to fix on such designs as were proper for retrieving the glory of the *English* arms, and blotting out the memory of the unfortunate accidents that had lately happened.

^k We have several accounts of this in the *Gazettes*; and his body was afterwards embalmed, and sent into England.
^l Burchet, Kennet. ^m State of Europe, Pointer's chronological history, life of king William. ⁿ See the Present State of Europe, for May, 1694.

happened. In the first place it was resolved, that a descent should be actually made on the *French* coast, in order to effect what had been long ago proposed, the erecting a fort on a certain promontory near *Brest*, which would have commanded that haven, and have entirely prevented the assembling, as the *French* were wont to do, their grand fleets there. It was also judged requisite to send a strong fleet into the *Mediterranean*, as well to succour the king of *Spain*, whose affairs were much distressed by the *French* naval power, as to prevent the *Toulon* Squadron from coming into the ocean, and hindering the *French* thereby from making any figure this year at sea. In order to accomplish these schemes, all imaginable pains were taken both in *England* and *Holland*, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to send it earlier to sea, than in any year since the war began.

On the first of *May*, admiral *Ruffel* joined the fleet at *St. Helens*, which consisted of fifty-two *English*, and forty-one *Dutch* ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. On the third the admiral sailed with the grand fleet, leaving sir *Cloudesley Shovel* with a strong squadron at *Portsmouth*, in order to embark the land forces. On the ninth, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the *Lizard*, the admiral was informed by the captain of a *Swedish* ship, that there lay in *Bertaume-Bay*, a fleet of *French* merchant-men, bound to the eastward, upon which he immediately detached captain *Pritchard*, in the *Monmouth*, together with the *Resolution* and the *Roebeck* fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Accordingly on the tenth,

* *Histoire militaire*; P. Daniel; *memoirs du Temps*; Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129, 130. P Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William:

tenth, as soon as it was light, they made the *French* shore about seven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they saw several ships behind a point of land near *Conquet-Bay*, which, upon a signal given from one of their scouts, immediately put to sea. In the mean time captain *Pritchard* pursued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the shore, and run against the rocks under the outermost castle; and this man of war proved to be the *Fersey* frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the *West Indies*, and which soon after blew up, and with her two sloops of between ten and sixteen guns. The merchant-ships were in all about fifty-five sail, of which thirty-five were burnt or sunk, twenty-five in *Whitesand-Bay*, four on the south side of the point of the bay, and six on the south side of *Conquet*, their lading being for the most part, salt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ships took and destroyed seventeen *French* vessels laden with corn and other provisions.

THE admiral returned back again to St. *Helens* by that time he judged that sir *Cloudefley Shovel* could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he sailed with the whole fleet on the twenty-ninth of *May*, having before given the necessary directions for the separating, at a proper station, of the squadron that was intended for the *Brest* expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord *Berkley*. On the last day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the *Britannia*, at which were present the following persons, viz. *Edward Russel*, esq; admiral of the fleet; the lord *Berkley*, admiral

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¶ Present State of Europe. ¶ Journal of the *Brest* expedition, by the marquis of Carmarthen, London, 1694, 4to. p. 5.

of the *Blue*; sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, vice-admiral of the *Red*; colonel *Aylmer*, vice-admiral of the *Blue*; colonel *Mitchel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*; the marquis of *Carmarthen*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*; captain *Bing*, eldest captain to the admiral, lieutenant-general *Talmasb*, the earl of *Macclesfield*, the lord *Cutts*, sir *Martin Beckmar* admiral *Allemonde*, admiral of the *Dutch*, vice-admiral *Vander-Putten*, vice-admiral *Schey*, vice-admiral *Vander-Goes*, rear-admiral *Evertzen*, and captain *Vander-Duffen*, in which it was resolved, that the fleet designed for *Brest*, should immediately proceed to *Camaret-Bay*, and should land the forces on board under the direction of lieutenant-general *Talmasb*, and the necessary instructions were given to lord *Berkley*, and the officers that were to command under him^s.

ON the fifth of *June* the lord *Berkley* parted with his squadron from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine *English* and *Dutch* men of war of the line, besides small frigates, fire-ships, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the sixth, a council of war was held, in which the proper measures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord *Cutts* should command six hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general *Talmasb* advance in person, at the head of the troops that were to support them. On the seventh the fleet came to an anchor between *Camaret-Bay* and the bay of *Bertaume*, the *French* playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of *Carmarthen* demanded leave of lord *Berkley*, the admiral, to go into *Camaret-Bay*, in order to observe the situation of the forts, and the posture of the enemy. On his lordship's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two sixty gun ships to

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^s See these instructions in Burchet's memoirs, p. 215.

go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too small a force, a council of war was called on the eighth, in which it was resolved to send in three *English*, and as many *Dutch* frigates, besides the two men of war before-mentioned. One of these, however, the *Richmond*, deserted the post assigned her, and the marquis of *Carmarthen* carried in the other five, and posted them in their proper places, which, though a necessary, was a very dangerous service; since at their going in, a bomb broke over the *Monk*, a great piece of which struck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the stern-ports, on the larboard-side, in the gun room, killing three marines, and one of them by the side of the marquis. So soon as the *Monk* got into the bay, and came up with the western point, *Camaret-Fort* fired upon her very warmly; and when the rest of the ships were properly posted, they were surprized to find themselves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was discerned till they felt the shot from it. These military compliments they returned with great spirit, and by keeping a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected. The reason of this, since I do not find it already set-down in any of our historians, I think myself obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm service. The *French* had been so well informed of our design, and such strange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that when our fleet came upon the coast, they found the *French* every

H 2

where

* See the marquis of Carmarthen's account, p. 21. Burchet's memoirs, p. 222. life of king William.

where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this descent. This was represented to lieutenant-general *Talmasb* in the council of war, and he was advised not to expose himself or his men : to which he answered, " This advice comes too late : the honour of the *English* nation is at stake, and therefore I must and will land. I know that I sacrifice myself and the men ; but it is necessary, and must be done, that both our enemies and allies may know, that even desperate undertakings cannot daunt *English* courage ". He embarked on board the small vessels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could ; but to very little purpose, for several of the well-boats sticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded, before they could get to the shore ; and those that did land, were very soon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongst the wounded was lieutenant-general *Talmasb* himself, who received a shot in his thigh, of which he soon after died ^w. The marquis of

Car-

^u This project, as I have been informed, was first proposed by a land officer to the earl of Nottingham, some years before ; and hints of it having been given to the French, they resolved to spare no cost or pains, in order to prevent a scheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the best port they have in this part of the world. ^w Both the marquis de Quincy and father Daniel commend the bravery of some French officers ; who, they say, attacked and routed the *English* troops that were landed ; and this with so small a force as one hundred and twenty men, supported, however, by a regiment of dragoons. The glory of this will be sufficiently diminished, when it is known, that not above three hundred did land ; and that many of these were wounded in getting ashore, and were so much exposed to the enemy's artillery, that they never could be formed into any tolerable order.

Carmarthen, afterwards duke of *Leeds*, whose courage no man ever called in question, tells us on this occasion, that if the *English* force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable. When the men on board the ships saw a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The *Monk* had not either a yard or sail, but was towed off; the rest of the vessels were also brought away with great difficulty, except a *Dutch* frigate called the *Teesep*, of thirty guns, which had twelve foot water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight, and of half an *English* company that was accidentally left on board her, only an ensign, a drummer, and a private man escaped; so that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was resolved therein to return to *Spithead*. The loss upon this occasion was computed at seven hundred of the land forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ships *.

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THE

* The marquis of *Carmarthen*, in his account, does great justice to all the officers employed in this desperate service. He says, particularly, page 46, " My lord Berkley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unusual trouble, by reason of the embarkations of the soldiers; notwithstanding which, both by his advice at councils of war, and issuing of orders, which his lordship has done very methodically, he hath behaved himself, in my opinion, with all the conduct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his station. " Lieutenant general *Talmash*, the earl of *Macclesfield*, my lord *Cutts*, and all the officers of the land forces, I think, have shewn all the forwardness and readiness imaginable for the attempting any thing that was possible to be done on this occasion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear
" of

THE marquis de Quincy, who is at once the most exact and most moderate of all the *French* writers, informs us, that at the time this attempt was made, M. de Vauban had taken care to put the town of *Brest* into an excellent state of defence. It was surrounded with strong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with bastions and half-moons at proper distances. He had erected a new battery of sixteen pieces of cannon and six mortars on the bastion of the town, nearest the castle, between it and the grand battery, with several smaller batteries in other places. He had likewise taken care to render all the vaults in the castle bomb proof, and had made the best disposition possible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of cannon. As for the vessels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and with respect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thousand gentlemen, who served as volunteers, and of regular troops four thousand foot, and a regiment of dragoons^y. General *Talmash*'s landing therefore with eight hundred men, might well be called a sacrifice, and yet more than half of these could never be got on shore; we must, therefore, admit, that when the marquis says four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight soldiers and forty officers made prisoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father *Daniel*, however, and some other writers, carry it as far; and, indeed, most of them agree in computing our whole loss at two thousand. As to what they say of ships being sunk,

and

" of, killed in this action, but monsieur Lamote; and lieutenant general Talmash died the Tuesday following, of the wound he received in his thigh. But there are several captains, &c. who are either killed or taken, whose names I am as yet ignorant of." y *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 77, 78, 79.

and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments necessary to a *French* detail, as their having but forty-five men killed in this action, is another stroke of the marvellous, which every reader, perhaps, may not be in the humour to credit.

AFTER this unlucky attempt, the poor wounded lieutenant-general proposed, that a small squadron of frigates and bomb-vessels might be sent into the harbour of *Brest*, to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a rash, and, as things stood, an impracticable undertaking, and therefore lord *Berkley* sailed immediately for our own coasts, and arrived on the fifteenth of *June*, 1694, at *St. Helens*. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to consider how the ships and troops might be best employed. After several consultations, it was resolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make some attempts on the coast of *Normandy*. Advice of this being sent to court, and an answer being returned on the twenty-seventh of *June*, it was resolved in another council of war, first to bombard the town of *Diep*, and then to proceed along the *French* coast, and do every where what prejudice they could. In pursuance of this resolution they came before that place, but were forced to sea by a storm, and afterwards anchored off *Dungeness*, from whence they sailed on the fifth of *July*, and arrived once more in *Diep* road on the eighth. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by foul weather for several days together.

ON the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of *Diep*, and continued without
H 4 ceasing

² Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 177, 178, par P. Daniel.
³ Burchet's memoirs, p. 225. State of Europe, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

ceasing till about nine at night. About eleven they sent in one of their machines with an intent to burn the pier; but several vessels full of stones being sunk before it, rendered that ineffectual, so that, except astonishing the town by the mighty noise, it did little mischief ^b. Captain *Dunbar*, a *Scots* gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour on this occasion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out, set fire to it a second time, for which he and those who went with him, were deservedly rewarded ^c. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the streets being narrow, the houses old, and most of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once, so that the far greater part of it was consumed to ashes ^d. The *French* court did all they could to stifle the report of this, at least at *Paris*; but the place was too near for any such artifices to take effect, so that by endeavouring to lessen, they really increased the people's apprehension, and all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been sent to restrain them ^e.

AFTER the bombardment of *Diep*, the *English* squadron sailed along the coast, and obliged the *French* to march
night

^b Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon.

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 501. ^d In the dates I generally follow the French writers, reducing the new stile to the old, because they are usually more exact than our own. Father Daniel owns the total destruction of *Diep*; but says, it was immediately built up again at the expence of the French king. If so, the inhabitants must be daily put in mind of the English maritime power, by this very improvement of their town. ^e See several letters printed in the Present State of Europe, for the month of July, 1694; and the fact is confirmed by the French accounts.

night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the *English* admiral never intended ^f. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord *Berkley* arrived at *Havre de Grace*, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, the *French* poured troops into the place, in order to assist the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the shore, the *English* were not able to do much, though they still continued before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible consternation. On the twenty-first, the wind being favourable, the small craft and bomb-veffels were sent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demolished, and abundance of people killed ^g. All this, however, could not be performed without loss; many of the mortars melted, the *Grenado* bomb-ship was blown up, and the rest of the small

^f Burchet, Kennet, Quincy, Daniel, &c. ^g The marquis de Quincy asserts positively, that there were not above twenty houses burnt in the town; but then he admits, that not only the inhabitants, but a vast number of soldiers, who were sent thither on purpose, laboured excessively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell; which must have been attended with great loss of men, and other inconveniencies. But I must confess, I see no just cause why a medal should have been struck, on the bombarding of this place, rather than Diep. Yet such a one there was; having on one side, the king's head in profile, with these words, *Gulielmus magnus invictissimus*; on the reverse was, *Perillus's bull*, with this inscription, *Suis perit ignibus auctor*: alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue, *Portus Gratiae, exustus, et everfus bombardis Anglo Batavis, 1694. I. B. F.*

small craft so shattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But even in doing this, care was taken to give the *French* infinite disquiet; for appearing before *La Hogue*, the *French* forces were drawn that way, but our squadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as possible, lord *Berkley* returned to *St. Helens* on the twenty-sixth of *July*, 1694, in order to refit^b.

THE court was very desirous that something should be undertaken against *Dunkirk*, and to that purpose several expresses were dispatched to the fleet; but upon a nice examination of the several proposals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion, that the season was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of success. A plan was then sent of *Calais*, which came from the king in *Flanders*; but the scheme of bombarding that place was also judged impracticable by a council of war, which was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilotsⁱ. On the twenty-seventh of *August* lord *Berkley* returned to *London*, and the command of the fleet, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved on sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, whose instructions were express to undertake something against *Dunkirk*, at all events. Mr. *Meesters*, who was the inventor and manager of the machines called *Infernals*, was at this time in *Flanders*, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the squadron into the harbour of *Dunkirk*, or at least so far into the road, as might enable them to destroy the enemy's ships. Sir *Cloudefley* sailed to the *Downs* in the beginning of *September*, and on the seventh was joined by Mr. *Meesters*, with twenty-six *Dutch* pilots, when captain

Benbow

^b Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon. ⁱ Burchet's memoirs, p. 227.

Benbow was appointed to command the small ships, and to follow the directions of Mr. *Meefters*, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them ^k. On the twelfth, however, sir *Cloudefley Shovel* appeared before the town of *Dunkirk*, with thirteen *English* and six *Dutch* men of war, two bomb-vessels, seventeen machines, and other small craft. In the evening captain *Benbow* went in, and found the western channel, between the *Brake* and the *Main*, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the ships and the citadel. The next day all the boats and small vessels were sent in again, with the *Charles* galley, two bomb-vessels, and some of the machines. In the afternoon two of the machines were sent in. The first took fire before she was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place set fire to it, as some of the *French* writers say, or that those on board, finding it impossible either to bring it nearer, or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggest, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide set her on one side, so that she drove a cable's length, and then blew up ^l. It was found, that the *French* had, according to custom, early intelligence of this design, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and sinking ships on the back of the westernmost pier, had secured themselves against

^k This ignorance, cowardice, or wilfulness of the pilot, seems to have been the chief cause of this miscarriage; and whoever considers attentively, what has been written upon this subject, by such as are best acquainted with maritime affairs, will be of my opinion, that seamen, above all others, are least inclined to expeditions of this sort. And, as such expeditions can only be executed by seamen, it may well be supposed, that this is the great reason why they so seldom succeed. ^l *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 84, 85. *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 197.

against all attempts of this nature: sir *Cloudefley Shovel* being informed of this, and knowing that the spring-tides were over, sailed away for *Calais*, and on the seventeenth sent the bomb-vessels in, and threw so many shells into the town, that about forty houses were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of sea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the storm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the *Downs*, from whence the bomb-vessels and machines were sent into the river *Thames* ^m.

It was the opinion of secretary *Burchet*, who had, without question, good grounds for what he delivered, that the expence to which the nation was put by these bombardments, was more than equivalent to what the enemy suffered by them ⁿ. It is certain, that all the sea-faring part of the world disapproved this manner of carrying on the war at that time; and that all the writers, who have touched upon this subject, have been carried away by the stream of their authority; which, however, has not the same effect on me. In the first place, I think the manner in which the *French* had carried on the war in *Germany*, their bombarding the city of *Genoa*, but above all their pyracically lying in wait for, and plundering our *Smyrna* fleet, and their pursuing and bombarding the remains of it in the ports of *Spain*, fully justified this manner of proceeding. I must next observe, that, if we consider the expence the king of *France* must have been at in providing for the security of *Brest*, and the inconveniencies that must have attended the sending *M. Vauban* that way with a corps of

12,000

^m Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.
ⁿ Naval memoirs, p. 234.

12,000 regular troops, the marquis de *Beauvron* with great detachment to *Diep*, marshal de *Choiseuil* to *Havre de Grace*, the Duke of *Maine*, count *Toulouse*, and marshal *Villeroy*, with the greatest part of the army in *Flanders*, to *Dunkirk* : I say, take all these together, and it will appear the *French* suffered abundantly more than we. But then, thirdly, this measure was absolutely necessary : the *French* now stiled themselves *lords of both seas*, that is, the *Ocean* and the *Mediterranean* : their *Gazettes* were full of the triumphs of their maritime force, and therefore the bombarding their ports was an excellent method to convince all *Europe* of the emptiness of their bravadoes. It satisfied the *English* nation, raised the drooping spirits of the people, gave pleasure to the merchants whose vessels had been plundered by the *French* privateers, and was therefore a great and glorious measure, whatever has been said against it by those who shew respect and compassion for a people that never shewed us any marks of either, except when civility was the pure result of fear.

WE are now to turn our eyes towards the *Mediterranean*, whither admiral *Ruffel* sailed with the grand fleet, as we have before remarked, on the sixth of *June*, 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of *Lisbon*, and thence sent orders to rear-admiral *Neville*, who, as we before observed, commanded the squadron which protected the *English* merchant-ships at *Cadiz*, to join him, which he did with the *Dutch* vice-admirals, *Callemberg* and *Evertzen*, with sixteen ships of the line, which increased the number of those in the fleet to sixty-three. The admiral then resolved to steer immediately for *Barcelona*, in order to save that city, and the province of *Catalonia*, from falling

^o I take the whole of this affair from the French historians.

falling into the hands of the *French*, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force under the command of M. *Tourville*, before, or at least very near the place ^p. This shews the wisdom of the administration in sending so great a fleet into those seas; for, without such assistance, the *Spaniards* must have been undone, or forced to make a separate peace, and the *French* would have continued boasting and vapouring, as they had lately done, of their mighty maritime power, persuading *Algiers*, and the rest of the states of *Barbary*, that the *English* were not able to look them in the face: but an end was now put to these bravadoes, by the admiral's procuring leave from the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, who were at war with those states, that some *Algerine* men of war might have permission to come and take a view of the fleet; which they did accordingly, and went home again very well satisfied ^q. On the other hand, the *French* admiral had no sooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before *Barcelona*, and soon after shut himself up in the port of *Toulon*, which put it out of dispute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to *France* in all parts of the world ^r. The siege of *Barcelona* too was

^p The marquis de Quincy tells us, that admiral Russel came into the Mediterranean very luckily for the preservation of *Barcelona*, before which port he appeared on the last of July, with a fleet of 136 sail, of which 88 were of the line of battle; and M. *Tourville* not being in a condition to look such a fleet in the face, retired, pursuant to his orders, into the harbour of *Toulon*. *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 86. ^q Burchet's memoirs, p. 239. where we are told, that, notwithstanding the precautions taken by admiral Russel, one of the *Algerine* frigates was soon after seized in his sight, by a *Dutch* man of war, though she was presently released upon his application. ^r *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 86. P. Daniel, Kennet, Burnet, &c.

was raised to the infinite joy of the king of *Spain*, who testified his gratitude for this signal assistance, in the warmest and most public manner possible.

OUR admiral, indeed, found the *Spanish* affairs in the most distressed condition imaginable. Their *Armada* consisted but of ten ships, and of these four only were of the line of battle; the rest of small force, and so rotten, that they could scarce endure the firing of their own guns. The army in *Catalonia* was in a still worse condition; it consisted but of 9000 men, without cloaths, without pay, without provisions, without artillery, and without tents. The towns on the sea-coast were so meanly fortified, that on the approach of a *French* squadron, the people had no other way to secure themselves but by flight. Admiral *Russel* stated all this in a letter to the king, and at the same time offered the viceroy of *Catalonia* to do all that was in his power for his assistance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy was excessively unreasonable, and what the admiral was able to do, could not much benefit him; which was the reason that, together with an apprehension of provisions growing short, induced the admiral to desire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made all the necessary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the *Spanish* coast, he received an order under his majesty's signet and sign manual, directing him to winter at *Cadiz*. This embarrassed him extremely, and the rather, because no care was taken to send commissioners for victualling, so that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no small addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppressed. Yet considering the importance

* Burchet's memoirs, p. 241. Kenner, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.

tance of the service, the dangers to which the men would be exposed, by any mismanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the *English* nation was at stake, he applied himself to this new employment with such diligence, that never men were better furnished with provisions and wine; and this too was managed with so great oeconomy, that notwithstanding the apparent difference between obtaining provisions for a great fleet, and single ships, yet the former was victualled at as small an expence to the public, as the latter, and in many circumstances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it necessary, make any scruple of engaging his personal credit and private estate, for the service of his country †.

WHILE the fleet continued before *Alicant*, the admiral dispatched a squadron of ten sail, under the command of rear-admiral *Neville*, with orders to cruize between the islands and the *Barbary* coast, as well to intercept any *French* vessels that might pass that way, as to procure wood and other necessaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody-flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice-admiral *Aylmer*, with orders to join rear-admiral *Neville*, and in case he had any news of the *French* fleet's being come out of *Toulon*, to sail in quest of them without delay; but if not, to return to *Alicant*, which he did on the tenth of *September*. The
admiral,

† See the subsequent memoirs of the earl of Orford, where it will appear, that notwithstanding all his pains and application, he was most cruelly and scandalously traduced on this account, as if he had procured the wintering of the fleet in the Mediterranean, purely to enrich himself by the management of their victualling; whereas, that measure was not only concerted without, but against his advice, and the government saved a great sum of money by his frugal conduct in the other particular.

admiral, though in a very weak state of health, went very soon on board, and resumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to *Cadiz*, where he arrived on the eighth of *November*, 1694, and took all the necessary precautions to prevent the *French* from passing the *Streights*, without receiving proper notice of their motions. While he continued there, the *Spaniards* sent him frequent advices of the *French* fleet's being ready to quit *Toulon*; which, however, he did not much regard, as having surer intelligence of his own. It is true, the *French* fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with design to have brought it round to *Brest*; but the advices they had of admiral *Ruffel*'s force and diligence, had such an effect on the mind of M. *Tourville*, that he could not be prevailed on to risk the ships under his command, in so dangerous a passage. His catholic majesty was all this time soliciting our admiral to undertake impossibilities, such as transporting five, then seven thousand men, from *Genoa*, on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being so long at sea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refused, yet he did it with great decency, and at the same time offered unanswerable reasons in support of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand amongst other supplies, a reasonable number of land-forces: and in this manner, the remainder of the year was spun out^w.

It is now requisite to take notice of what was done at home, in relation to naval affairs, and in the first place I must observe, that the king, on his return from *Flanders*, under the escort of a small squadron, commanded by the

VOL. III. I marquis

^w Burchet, Kennet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.
^x Burchet's memoirs, p. 265.

marquis of *Carmarthen*, called the parliament together on the twelfth of *November*, and opened the sessions with a speech which began thus. "I am glad to meet you here, when I can say our affairs are in a better posture, both by sea and land, than when we parted last. The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose our fleet in these seas; and our sending so great a force into the *Mediterranean*, has disappointed their designs, and leaves us a prospect of further success." He recommended to them at the same time, early and effectual supplies, and the passing some good law for the encouragement of seamen. The commons received these propositions very cheerfully, and having examined the estimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a supply of 2,382,712*l.* for the navy, which sufficiently shewed how easy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable prospect of seeing it well laid out *.

THE death of queen *Mary*, which happened towards the latter end of the year, served not only to damp the spirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the person of that princess, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her majesty's demise *y*. This, however strange and singular,

* Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Present State of Europe, Chandler's debates, &c.

y This excellent princess was taken ill at Kensington, on the twenty-first of December, 1694. Her distemper proved to be the small-pox; a malady extremely fatal to her family, and which might therefore be supposed to make the greater impression upon her spirits; this joined to a bad constitution, and, as some say, the ill management of her principal physician, brought her to her end in the space of a week.

gular, was the sentiment of her majesty's uncle, the earl of *Rochester*, and of some others; but certainly it was very ill founded. The executive part of the government, was, by law, in king *William* only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament, was certainly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law, as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majesties, as all other acts of state did, yet without impeachment or dimunition of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's seconding the earl of *Rochester* in his motion in the house of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberation, as if no such accident had happened *. It was then suggested, by such as disliked the administration, that the sending admiral *Russel* with so great a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, keeping him there for so long a time, and directing him at last to winter in those parts, was contrary to the interest of the nation, the occasion of vast sums being remitted into foreign parts, and an act of too great complaisance towards our allies. But upon a long and sharp debate, the house of lords saw reason to justify this measure by a

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very

week. She was, at the time of her decease, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; and her death, at this juncture, was a great disadvantage to her subjects. * See Burner's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 140. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament dissolved, things must have run into the utmost confusion; and therefore it is amazing, that any man, who pretended the least regard for his country, should espouse so destructive a scheme, even though his sentiments had been opposite to those of the persons entrusted with the administration.

very warm address to the throne, in which they say,
 " That the sending so great a fleet into the *Mediterranean*,
 " and continuing it in those parts, has been to the honour
 " and advantage of your majesty and your kingdoms: and
 " having spent some time upon consideration of the con-
 " dition of the fleet both at home and abroad, and of the
 " great encrease of the naval force and strength of our
 " neighbours, conceive it to be our duty to your majesty
 " and the kingdom, humbly to represent, that the honour
 " and safety of this nation, under the providence of God,
 " chiefly depends upon your strength at sea. And whereas
 " by the long continuance of this war, the number of
 " your ships must have been diminished, and those re-
 " maining greatly impaired, we think it of the highest
 " importance to your majesty's service, and the security
 " and interest of your people, that you would be pleased
 " to give such speedy and effectual directions for the repair
 " and encrease of your royal navy, as may enable your
 " majesty not only to continue a strength in the *Mediterranean*, during this war, which may be superior to that
 " of our enemies, but likewise to maintain such a force
 " here at home, and in the *West-Indies*, as shall be a se-
 " curity for our coasts and plantations, and a protection
 " of our trade, and sufficient both for the annoying of
 " our enemies, and for the protecting and convoying all
 " such stores and provisions as must be sent to the fleet in
 " those parts, upon the effectual and timely providing
 " whereof, the safety of that part of your majesty's navy
 " does so much depend." This address, which was pre-
 " sented in the beginning of the month of *March*, and to
 " which the king returned a favourable answer, satisfied the
 " minds of all the sensible part of the nation on this head,

and

and reconciled them to the absence of admiral *Russel*, which otherwise they would not have borne but with great impatience*.

A considerable supply being sent to the fleet in the beginning of the year, admiral *Russel* resolved to send a small squadron up the *Streights*; it was composed of six stout frigates, and the command given to captain *James Killigrew*, who had instructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the eighteenth of *January*, 1695, they discovered two *French* ships, viz. the *Content*, commanded by the marquis *du Chalar*, of seventy guns, and the *Trident*, under count *d'Aulnoy*, of sixty guns, between cape *Bona* and the island of *Pantalarea*, on the *Barbary* coast. The *French* men of war mistook the *English* for merchant-men, and bore down upon them; but quickly perceiving their mistake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain *Killigrew*, in the *Plymouth*, could come up with them, and the wind being then calm, she alone engaged both the *French* ships for the space of more than an hour, in which time captain *Killigrew* was killed with a cannon-shot. Then came up the *Palmouth*, captain *Grantham*, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four *English* frigates came in: whereupon the *French* separated, the *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, and *Southampton* pursued

* The *French* took a great deal of pains to publish whatever was said in England against this measure, and indeed they had good reason so to do, since all those arguments were in their favour. The *English* fleet giving law to them in the *Mediterranean*, while our squadrons bombarded their ports on the ocean, sunk their pretensions to becoming a maritime power so low, that it is no wonder they were desirous of promoting the views of that party in England, which opposed measures so fatal to their glory.

sued the biggest of them, and the *Falmouth* and *Adventure* the lesser, the *Plymouth* being forced to bear away for *Messina*, having lost her fore-top-mast, and her other masts and rigging being very much shattered. The *French* made a running fight the night following and part of the next day; when, their ships being disabled, and the count *d'Aulnoy*, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the *Trident*, being leaky, and it blowing very fresh, the *English* sent her to *Gorgenti*, and carried the *Content* to *Messina*, where they arrived the second of *March*. The *Plymouth* had fourteen men killed and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the rest of the ships ^b. The brave captain *Killebrew* was interred at *Messina*, with all the honours due to his rank and merit ^c. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords presented their address, which was a very fortunate circumstance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occasions as a fact which fully supported their arguments. On the other side, a large account of this affair was printed at *Paris*, in which the marquis *du Chaland* said a great many fine things of himself and his nation, but after all admits they were beat ^d.

ON

^b Burchet's memoirs, p. 266, 267. Pointer's chronological history, Kennet, Burnet, &c. ^c I think myself obliged to report from the mouth of an eye-witness, a very extraordinary circumstance in relation to this engagement. When captain *Killebrew* came up with the *Content*, the whole French crew were at prayers, and he might have poured in his broad-side with great advantage; which, however, he refused to do, adding this remarkable expression, *It is beneath the courage of the English nation, to surprize their enemies in such a posture.* ^d I shall not trouble the reader with any of the flourishes in this or other

ON the fifth of *February*, 1694, a great supply of provisions arrived from *England*, and soon after admiral *Russel* detached rear-admiral *Neville*, with a strong Squadron, to watch the motions of the *French*. In the beginning of *April* arrived the land-forces, consisting of about four thousand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier *Stuart*, and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve bomb-vessels. The fleet then sailed from *Cadix*, and proceeded to *Barcelona*, before which port they arrived early in the month of *May*, and found the *Spanish* affairs in *Catalonia* in the same declining way in which they left them, notwithstanding all the pressing remonstrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the *Spanish* court on that subject. In the mean time rear-admiral *Neville* was sent to escort a body of *Spanish* troops, which were to be transported from *Final* into that province. He had also directions to apply himself to the duke of *Savoy*, in order to

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be

other French accounts of this affair; but content myself with observing, that the marquis du Chalard says, the *Content* carried 54 guns, and 380 men; the *Trident*, 42 guns, and 300 men; though in several of their own lines of battle, in the years 1692 and 1693, I find the former to be a ship of 64, and the latter of 60 guns; which is sufficient to shew the credit due to these authors. — Burchet's memoirs, p. 268, 271. The Spaniards were all this while soliciting for a convoy, and sometimes expressed a good deal of uneasiness on account of its not being provided. Yet this was entirely their own fault; for while the admiral thought there was no danger of the French coming out of *Toulon*, he had pressed them as much, to forward their embarkation at *Final*; telling them plainly, that after a certain time which he fixed, he should not think it safe to spare them a convoy. But, they suffered it to elapse, and then grew impatient, because admiral *Russel* would not hazard part of his fleet, and all their forces, by sending the convoy at a time when the French fleet might have been at sea, on purpose to intercept them.

be informed, whether, with the assistance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of *France*, or to assist in a design that was then formed against *Toulon*. But his highness being intent upon taking *Casal*, declined entering upon any measures of this nature; and therefore rear-admiral *Neville* was forced to content himself with the execution of the other part of his instructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the *Spanish* troops under his protection, which he very happily performed f.

It was about the middle of the month of *July*, when the marquis de *Gastanaga*, the *Spanish* governor of *Catalonia*, formed the design of re-taking *Palamos*, in which he desired the assistance of admiral *Russel*. To this purpose he made him a visit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the situation things were in, the necessity he was under of sending home fir *John Munden* with some of the largest ships, and the impossibility there was of suffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer on shore. However, in spite of all these difficulties and disappointments, he assured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmost in his power, both by landing the troops, and by sending in a squadron of light vessels to bombard the place. In consequence of these resolutions,

f This was one great end of sending admiral *Russel* into the Mediterranean. For if, with the assistance of the duke of *Savoy*, he could have undertaken any thing against *Marseilles* or *Toulon*, it would have completed the ruin of the French power at sea. But the duke was so bent upon the conquest of *Casal*, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other enterprize. Admiral *Russel*, as soon as he understood this, resolved to give him all the assistance possible in that design; and by hindering the French from sending any succours, enabled him to make himself master of the place, which he could not otherwise have taken.

solutions, the confederate forces, consisting of four thousand *English* and *Dutch*, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier *Stuart*, the latter under that of count *Nassau*. This was on the ninth of *August*, and it was the next day before they joined the *Spanish* army, the very sight of which was sufficient to discourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unnecessary, since in truth they were in want of every thing; and if our people had not by accident brought with them some pick-axes and shovels on shore, they could not have intrenched themselves; which, however, was very necessary, since the *French* had not only a good garrison in *Palamos*, but an army at least equal to that of the *Spaniards*, within sight of the place. The bombardment, however, succeeded better; the greatest part of the town and castle were destroyed: but the admiral, being informed, that the *French* fleet were coming out of *Toulon*, thought proper to reimbark his forces, and to sail for the coast of *Provence*, in order to watch the motions of the enemy ^h.

AFTER

^g Burchet's memoirs, p. 275. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.
^h The French writers give us another account of this matter; they say, that the duke of Vendôme, who commanded their army in Catalonia, finding himself too weak to attempt the raising the siege of *Palamos* by force, had yet address enough to effect it by a stratagem. He sent a letter by the master of a fishing-bark, directed to Mr. Nanclas, governor of that place, acquainting him, that he might depend on speedy relief, the fleet having sailed from *Toulon* in the beginning of September. The master of the fishing-boat had orders to put himself in the way of the *English*, which he did; and the admiral being deceived by this letter, sailed immediately for the coast of *Provence*. *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 178. yet, supposing this fact to be true, the French had no great cause to boast; for *Palamos* was reduced into so miserable a condition, by being bombarded, that the duke de Vendôme thought fit soon after to

AFTER his departure from the coast of *Catalonia*, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accomplishing some things he had in view. He found also that his intelligence, as to the designs of the *French*, had not been very exact, and therefore thought it advisable to retire down the *Streights*; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of *September*, in the bay of *Cadix*. There he made the necessary dispositions for securing our trade in the *Mediterranean* from any interruption, for leaving a sufficient force to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and even to assist the *Spaniards*, in case they shewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and having made these provisions, and given proper instructions to sir *David Mitchel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, who was to be left with a squadron of three and twenty ships of the line, besides frigates and bomb-vessels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the rest of the fleet back to *England*, most of the great ships being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This design he very happily accomplished, arriving in *November* with twelve sail of great ships, exclusive of the *Dutch*, a frigate or two, and some fire ships, on our own coasts ^k.

WE are now to consider what passed at home, and how those measures were prosecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the *French* in the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed answered the sanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a house standing on all the *French* coast; and
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to withdraw his garrison, and blow up the rest of the fortifications. ⁱ Kennet, Burnet, life of king William. ^k Pointer's chronological history, Burchet's memoirs, Present State of Europe, &c.

on the other hand, seemed but to justify too well what such as were best skilled in maritime affairs had advanced, as to the impossibility of performing any great services in the way of bombarding; yet it was resolved that this should be pursued¹. The great men in the cabinet, amongst whom at that time was the famous earl of *Sunderland*, perhaps the ablest minister of his time, thought themselves better judges of these matters, than either the seamen or the people; and while they were able to shew their own force for the present, lessen the *French* power for the future, and give infinite uneasiness to the whole *French* nation, by such expeditions, the expence of them, though considerable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away. They were, besides, very sensible, that nothing could enable us, and our allies, to continue the war with any prospect of success, but our making such uses of our fleet, as might lessen the visible superiority of the *French* king's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral *Ruffel* while he continued in the *Mediterranean*: for though he found it impossible to enable the *Spaniards* to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all; yet he had visibly prevented the loss of *Barcelona*, and indeed of all *Catalonia*, which nothing but his presence could have kept, either this year or the last, out of the hands of the *French*; and the bombardments of last year had frustrated all the *French* schemes, and kept their whole naval force useless in their ports, which had been otherwise employed to our prejudice^m.

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¹ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.
^m This is the judgment of some of the best political writers of those times; and indeed, if we consider facts, we cannot but be

THE fleet intended for this service was in such forwardness by the middle of *June*, that the lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at *Spithead*, a council of war was called, in order to consider what should be first undertaken; and upon mature deliberation it was resolved, that there was the greatest probability of succeeding against *St. Maloes*. But the *Dutch* admiral, *Allemonde*, having acquainted lord *Berkley*, that he had the king's absolute orders to consider the project for attacking *Dunkirk* before all others; this occasioned a fresh delay. However, when it was proposed that the *Dutch* should act separately in this last undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full resolution taken to execute immediately the design against *St. Maloes*. With this view the fleet sailed on the twenty-third of *June*; and on the fourth of *July* lord *Berkley*, with all the ships under his command, came before the place, and began instantly to bombard *Quince-Fort*, to the westward, and the battery raised by the enemy to the eastward, on point *Danbour*, between which is the channel of the town. The first service was performed by colonel *Richards*, who had three *English* and two *Dutch* bomb-vessels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the *Dutch*, who employed therein four bomb-vessels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord *Berkley*, about four o'clock in the morning, gave the signal. Upon this captain *Benbow* went on board the *Charles* galley, and hoisted a flame-coloured flag; and immediately after, the *English* and

he convinced, that it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coasts, than to suffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did some years before. "Burchet's memoirs, p. 293. Kennet, Burnet.

and *Dutch* frigates, appointed to guard the bomb-vessels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and an half of the town, having colonel *Richards*, with the bomb-vessels, in a line before them. About six, the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the shore, from the batteries on the great and little bay, in the island of *Danbour*, from *Fort-Vauban*, *Port-Royal*, *Fort-Quince*, &c. their gallies and boats taking also the opportunities of the tides, and rowing sometimes so near, as to gall with their small shot the line of bomb-vessels. Yet, in spite of this interruption, the bombardment was so vigorously pursued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the east part of the town, and vast clouds of smoak were seen ascending in several places. Lord *Berkley*, admiral *Allemonde*, and sir *Cloudestey Shovel*, came in their boats to encourage the seamen, and expressed much satisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was disposed. An *English* and *Dutch* fire-ship set the wooden fort on the *Quince* rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the west part of the town. By seven in the evening, the bomb-vessels had spent their whole cargo of nine thousand bombs and carcasses, and therefore the signal was made to put to sea. This enterprize was executed by six *English* and four *Dutch* men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom boats, and two brigantines. The loss sustained by the enemy's fire was sixty men killed and wounded; a bomb-vessel, called the *Terrible*, so shattered, that they were forced to set her on fire; two boats, and three or four barks sunk. The bombardment lasted somewhat more than eleven hours, with all the success that could possibly be expected, a great part

part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the necessity of blowing up several houses, to prevent the whole from being destroyed °.

THE *French* accounts do indeed contradict these ; but at the same time they neither raise the reputation of *France*, nor, with impartial judges, can discredit what has been advanced on this subject by the *English* and *Dutch*. M. *Quincy* tells us, that the court appointed marshal *Choiseul* to command on the the coast of *Britany*. At *La Hague* he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horse, and a regiment of dragoons ; and besides these, he had a numerous *Corps de Reserve*. M. *d'Estrees* commanded in the neighbourhood of *Rochelle* another body of forces. The care of *Brest*, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. *Vauban*, who had a special commission to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coast. All this shews, how apprehensive the *French* were of these visits, into what confusion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide against their effects. As to this particular affair of *St. Maloes*, the author before-mentioned is pleased to say, our fleet consisted of seventy sail, of which twenty-five or thirty were line of battle ships. He owns, that the bombardment continued eleven hours ; that nine hundred bombs

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° See the London Gazette, No. 3090 ; where, however, it is said, that the fleet sailed on the twenty-first ; but in all probability it put back again, and did not sail till the twenty-ninth, as appears from the London Gazette, No. 3092. The account of the engagement I have taken from my lord Berkley's narrative, published in the Gazette, No. 3096, after comparing it with what is said in Burchet's naval history, and the Dutch accounts ; all which agree perfectly together, and therefore I can see no reason to doubt any of the facts they contain.

were thrown, of which five hundred fell in the town, whereby ten or twelve houses were burnt, thirty-five or forty damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded. Father *Daniel* gives us pretty near the same account; and both agree, that two infernal machines were spent on *Fort-Quince*, one to very little, and the other to no purpose at all. Yet, when it is remembered that *St. Maloes* was an old town, its buildings mostly of wood, the streets very narrow, and the place crowded with soldiers, it is not easy to guess, how so many bombs could fall, and yet do so little hurt; and this induced a *Dutch* journalist to say merrily enough, that the *Maloins* had taught their dogs (which every body knows they make use of to guard their city) to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of town.

AFTER this affair was over, it was resolved, that a small squadron should proceed to *Granville*, a place of great trade. This squadron consisted of eight frigates, and as many bomb-vessels, viz. five *English* and three *Dutch*. On the eighth of *July* about nine in the morning, captain *Benbow* anchored before the place, and colonel *Richards*, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which lasted till six in the evening, and then the squadron bore away, leaving

P *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 323. But all that is said there, may be thus accounted for. The French court always kept in pay a settled journalist, who was instructed to heighten all their successes, and to extenuate all their losses, by feigned relations; which relations are since reckoned proper documents for history; though at the time they were published, their true value was very well known, and they very justly despised, not abroad only, but even by sensible people in France. *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 182. Both his and the marquis de Quincy's account, are copied from their Gazettes. *Present State of Europe*, history of the last war, life of king William, &c.

leaving this town all in flames ; which is a fact the *French* have never offered to dispute, though most of their writers slip it over without saying a word. On the ninth, the fleet appeared before *Havre de Grace* ; not with any design to attack it, but merely to alarm and harrafs the enemy : which having performed, they sailed for *Portsmouth*, in order to make the necessary preparations there for an attempt upon *Dunkirk*, the destruction of which port would have given equal satisfaction to the *English* and *Dutch*, both nations suffering very much, though not equ'ly, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coast trade^d.

ON the return of the fleet, four hundred soldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. *Meesters* received orders to prepare his machines, on the success of which the whole affair depended. After this all the proper measures were concerted with that engineer. But, whether through some backwardness in him, or from what other accident, is not very clear ; so it was, that the month of *July* expired before the attempt upon *Dunkirk* was made. On the first of *August* lord *Berkley* sent in the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and machine-vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines, to protect them against the enemy's half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning, the bombardment began ; about two in the afternoon four smoke-ships were sent in, which were burnt to little or no purpose. The bomb-vessels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, &c. were ordered off. Several of the shells fell into the rise-bank and upon the pier-heads,

^d Burchet, Kennet, Oldmixon, and the London Gazette, No. 3096.

heads, and three of the enemy's half-gallies were sunk. But they had in all places made such great preparations for their defence with boats, bombs, chains, piles, and pontons, with guns upon them, as rendered this attempt altogether impracticable. The *French* give a long and pompous account of this affair, and I think do the *English* more honour than any of their own relations; for they make the miscarriage of this attempt, the effect of the courage and conduct of several of their most experienced sea-officers; whereas our authors universally ascribe it either to the want of skill in Mr. *Messers*, or to the misunderstanding between him and some of the sea-officers; which is the more probable, since he deserted the service in the night, and could not be prevailed on to take any share in the subsequent attempt upon *Calais* ^t.

LORD *Berkley*, notwithstanding this disappointment, resolved to prosecute his orders, and coming before *Calais*, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour first of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads, which was furnished with fourteen heavy cannon; and with several other batteries defended the entrance of the place in such a manner, that it was impossible any thing could be undertaken till these obstacles were removed. To this end, colonel *Richards* was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire-ship, and to dispose the boats for making a formal attack.

VOL. III.

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^t I have taken this account, as those before inserted, from all the relations I could meet with, either of our own, or foreign writers, particularly that published in the *Gazette*, No. 3102. *Burchet's Memoirs*, p. 297. *Histoire Militaire*, *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* &c. But all they advance, is taken from the relations printed by authority to amuse the people.

tack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this design till the seventeenth of *August* in the morning, when anchoring eastward of the town, the bombardment began with such success, that by noon the place was on fire in several parts. About this time the enemy's half-gallies came out, and stood along under the shore, in order to break the line of bomb-vessels; but the frigates and brigantines standing in, put them into such confusion, that they retired with great precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any further interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time six hundred shells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the rise-bank was entirely burnt, several houses destroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumstance in our favour, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we suffered very little loss; only Captain *Osborne*, who commanded the *Aldborough-Ketch*, was killed by a cannon-ball^u. *M. Quincy* affects to treat this attack as a very slight thing, asserting that not above three or four houses were consumed, and about as many people killed; and yet he acknowledges that abundance of men had been ordered thither, and a great deal of pains taken to prevent their suffering at all by this attempt; which shews how great their apprehensions were, and how necessary it was to calm the minds of the people by publishing such accounts, but depreciates their judgments very much who took all these

^u London Gazette, No. 3107, Burchet's Memoirs, p. 303. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 413. Kennet, Burchet.

these precautions where, (if they are believed) no mischief could be done ^w.

THIS was the last attack of the kind that was made this year; and though, upon the whole, both the *English* and the confederates reaped very considerable advantages, from their ruining in this manner all the enemy's coasts, while their squadrons were shut up in their ports, and in no capacity to undertake any thing, yet, on the return of the fleet, the council thought fit to examine into the conduct both of the officers and engineers, who charged each other reciprocally with want of skill, or want of zeal; but upon a thorough examination into the matter, it was found, that their want of unanimity was the greatest misfortune; and it appeared so plainly, that by proper management the *French* ports might be ruined, notwithstanding the mighty pains and immense expence employed in fortifying them, that it was resolved to prosecute the same method; and it was particularly recommended to Mr. *Messers*, not only to be more careful in providing for the supply of his machines with whatever was necessary for their acting effectually, but also to secure a sufficient number of experienced pilots, for want of which both the attempts on *Dunkirk* had miscarried ^{*}; that might otherwise have ruined this *Algier* in the narrow seas.

THAT respect which is due to truth, and the thorough information of our readers, will not permit the passing over in silence, some misfortunes that fell out this year at sea: When the *French* court found that, notwithstanding the

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^w Histoire militaire, Journal historique, as above.

^{*} See a more satisfactory account of this matter in our memoirs of the lord Berkley of Stratton.

vast expence they had been at, in order to raise a maritime power, they were yet unable to look the *English* and *Dutch* in the face, they gave leave to many of their sailors to enter on board privateers, which enabled them to disturb our trade, and to enrich themselves. The Marquis of *Carmarthen*, who had the command of a Squadron stationed off the *Scilly*-islands, was so unlucky as to mistake a fleet of merchant-men for the *Brest* Squadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be satisfied whether he was or was not in the right, he retired immediately into *Milford-Haven*, which exposed the *Barbadoes* fleet in such a manner; that many of them were lost, two *East-India* ships were taken at sea, and three more were either burnt or taken near *Galway* in *Ireland*, by some privateers acting under king *James's* commission. These five ships, bishop *Burnet* tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be surprized, that by the loss of them which affected so many people, a great clamour was raised among the merchants. The *Admiralty* excused themselves by producing the instructions given to the marquis of *Carmarthen*, and other officers; but, notwithstanding all that could be said, it appeared incontestably, that the true source of our losses in this respect, and of the *French* success, was their having so good intelligence of all our motions; whereas it never appeared that with all the money spent for this purpose, we had any tolerable accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their diligence and dexterity, and how far to our indolence and treachery, is what I shall not pretend to determine, but content myself with observing, that in a time of war no money is so ill spared, as that which might be employed in gaining early notice

notice of an enemy's preparations; for though their designs may, yet those can never be hid.

BUT, in some measure to ballance these, we may have leave to mention a few acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our own countrymen performed; and which, if it were for their singularity only, deserve to be remembered. On the thirtieth of May 1695, as one *William Thompson*, master of a fishing-boat belonging to the port of *Pool* in *Dorsetshire*, was fishing near the island of *Purbeck*, with only one man and a boy, and perceiving a privateer of *Cherbourg* to bear down upon him, he was so far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himself the best he could with two little guns, which he had mounted. and some small fire-arms, and with so inconsiderable defence behaved himself with such success, that in a little time he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and six more of the *French*; which so discouraged the rest, that they bore away. But then, in his turn, *Thompson* gave chase to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy strike, beg for quarter, and surrender. So that *Thompson*, thus victorious, brought away the sloop with fourteen prisoners (of which the captain was one) having left two more at *Corfe-Castle*, and carried her into *Pool* harbour. This privateer had two pattarero's, several small arms and granado's, and sixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the *Admiralty* gave captain *Thompson* a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a present also

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of

y Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. 155. Kennet, Oldmixon, Present state of Europe, life of king William.

of the vessel he had taken ^a. Their lordships, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Mr. *Williams*, who was likewise master of a fishing-smack belonging to *Whit-sand-Bay*, for retaking several vessels after they had fallen into the hands of *French* privateers ^a. These rewards had such an effect, that Captain *Peter Jolliffe*, in a small hoy, called the *Sea Adventure*, perceiving a *French* privateer in the island of *Purbeck* make prize of a fishing-boat belonging to *Weymouth*, he boldly attacked him, though of three times his strength, and having first obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on shore near the town of *Lulworth*, the people of which made themselves masters of the vessel, and took the crew prisoners; for which brave exploit, Captain *Jolliffe* was honoured also with a gold chain and medal ^b. Several other actions of this sort gave reputation to the *English* seamen, and plainly shewed, that nothing but divisions in our councils, and factions in our fleets, hindered us from succeeding in our designs of making a descent on the coast of *France*, and revenging the injuries done our commerce by the privateers of that nation: a design every way just and reasonable, since the *French* king not only furnished those privateers with seamen, but also employed his own ships in this kind of piratical war, and caused several medals to be struck on the success of it: but whether these will transmit his glory or shame to posterity, I leave every impartial reader to determine ^c.

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^a London Gazette, No. 3085. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 411, 412. Present state of Europe. ^a London Gazette, No. 3085. ^b London Gazette, No. 3089.

^c I have always looked upon this, as the strongest proof of the rectitude of those councils, to which were owing the bombardment

THE campaign in *Flanders* being over, king *William* returned to *England*, and on the eleventh of *October* arrived at *Kensington*, and immediately after published a proclamation, by which he dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty second of *November* following. About the same time Sir *George Rooke* received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the squadron under his command. He was on this occasion declared admiral of the *White*, and admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's ships in the *Mediterranean*, with instructions to protect the *English* commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in case they passed the *Streights*, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a strength proportionable to theirs. Sir *George* parted from the *English* coast on the sixteenth of *October*. 1695, with seventy sail of men of war and merchant-

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bardment of the French coasts; and therefore I think it may not be amiss to give the reader some instances in support of what is delivered in the text. Every body knows how fond the French king was of causing the remarkable actions of his reign to be recorded by medals; and therefore their testimony is unexceptionable. On the taking the India-ships, formerly mentioned, there was a medal struck, representing these vessels unlading, and their cargoes taken from the slaves who brought them on shore, by a man compleatly armed, with this Inscription, *Indicæ hostium opes interceptæ. i. e.* The treasures of the Indies taken from the enemies. In the exergue, 1695. Upon John Du Bart's destroying a squadron of Dutch ships, another medal appeared, on which was represented, the Batavian lion, prostrate on the ground, the genius of Holland sitting on his back, and looking with an air of distraction towards a ship at sea, with this legend, *Incensæ aut captis hostium navibus oneratis triginta, bellicis tribus*, that is, thirty merchant-ships, and three men of war, belonging to the enemy, either burnt or taken. In the exergue, *ad Texellam*, 1695. A medal was also struck on the fruitless bombarding of Dunkirk, which shewed of how great importance the French king thought that nest of pirates. *Histoire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 99.*

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chant-men under his command, and in thirty eight days arrived safely in the bay of *Cadiz*. There he applied himself with the utmost diligence to the securing the safe return of the *Turkey* fleet, and protecting every where the *English* trade from the danger to which it stood exposed from the *French* privateers; but, as to the latter part of his instructions, he found himself scarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of *Cadiz*, being much inferior to the strength he knew the *French* had at *Toulon*, and therefore he was obliged to provide the best he could for his security there; many of the great *English* ships, and most of the *Dutch* under his command, being so foul, that it would have been unsafe to have hazarded them in an Engagement. In this situation Sir *George Rooke* remained for some time, and then received his majesty's commands to return for *England* ^d.

WE are now to enter on the transactions of 1696, a year in which both the *French* and the allies were resolved to exert their greatest skill and utmost force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had sufficient reasons to wish for peace. At home our party-debates ran much higher than ever. The tories were formed into a fixed and constant opposition to the government, making it a capital point of patriotism to perplex public affairs; the *English* merchants were exceedingly uneasy at the losses they had sustained in trade, and all *Scotland* was in confusion on account of the opposition given to the project they had formed for establishing an *East-India* company, and making also a settlement in the *West-Indies* at *Darien*. To these sources of uneasiness there
were

^d Burchet's memoirs, p. 289, 290, Kennet, Burnet, Present state of Europe, &c.

were added many others, some of greater, and some of less importance : among the former may be reckoned the business of a general recoinage, and among the latter an epidemic corruption, which had spread itself through almost every office in the kingdom, equally to the discredit of the government, and oppression of the people. While, therefore, the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for so many and so great evils, the *French* were contriving (as indeed it was but natural they should) how they might turn our domestic disputes most to their own advantage ; and at last projected the means to set on foot a conspiracy here, while they were preparing there, all things necessary for the making a formidable invasion. Thus at the close of the war they made a vast effort, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to justify their departure from it, in case, after so bold an attempt, they should meet with fresh disappointments ^e.

It was pretty early in the winter that the *French* king formed the project of invading *England*, and by this means restoring king *James*. But the first suspicion that was had here of his design, arose from his making a grand promotion of sea-officers, and amongst them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war ; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years past : and what greatly alarmed the nation, was, that we had no considerable naval force at home to oppose them ^f. Their greatest preparations being at *Toulon*, confounded our politicians not a little ; but in the beginning
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^e Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, &c.
^f Histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 201. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, supplement to Rapin, &c.

of January, 1696, the *French* scheme began to unfold itself, by the early sailing of a fleet to *Dunkirk*. It was usual for them to send a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, escorted by a small squadron of men of war. But the fleet now sent was much greater than formerly, and the squadron that sailed with it as an escort, consisted of seventeen men of war. Soon after this, an army of twenty thousand men, drawn with all possible silence from the adjacent garrisons, was brought down to the sea-coasts, and five hundred transports provided with extraordinary diligence and secrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to *England*, while most of our large ships were laid up, and the rest either in the *Mediterranean*, or refitting here, in order to be sent thither &c. So that hitherto all things seemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at *Gillingham*, in the river *Medway*, where the *Royal Sovereign* took fire, and was totally consumed, though without prejudice to any of the ships which lay near her ^b.

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^a Burchet's memoirs, history of the war, conspiracy against king William, life of king James II. Present State of Europe. ^b I have met with the following account of this accident, which is very curious, in a pocket-book of an old seaman, who sometime belonged to her.

" January 29, 1696. The *Royal Sovereign* was the first great ship that was ever built in England; she was then designed only for splendor and magnificence, and was in some measure the occasion of those loud complaints against ship-money, in the reign of king Charles I. but being taken down a deck lower, became one of the best men of war in the world, and so formidable to her enemies, that none of the most daring among them would willingly lie by her side. She had been in almost all the great engagements that had been fought between England and Holland, and in the last fight between the English and French, encountering the won-
" der

It was the intention of *Lewis XIV.* to have embarked at *Dunkirk* 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king *James* in person, and under him by the marquis of *Harcourt*, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marshal of *France*. This embarkation was to have been escorted by two strong squadrons, under the marquis of *Nesmond* and *John du Bart*, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of *Berwick*, sir *George Berkley*, and some other experienced officers, were sent over to dispose the malcontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But when all things were supposed to be in perfect readiness, the whole scheme was happily discovered; and on the twenty-fourth of *February*, the king came to the house of commons, and in a set speech informed them of the whole affair¹. At the same time orders were given for

der of the world. She so warmly plyed the French admiral, that she forced him out of his three-decked wooden castle; and chasing the *Royal Sun* before her, forced her to fly for shelter among the rocks, where she became a prey to lesser vessels, that reduced her to ashes. At length, leaky and defective herself with age, she was laid up at *Chatham*, in order to be rebuilt; but being set on fire by negligence, she was, upon the twenty-seventh of this month, devoured by that element, which so long and so often before she had imperiously made use of, as the instrument of destruction to others.”¹ As I do not enter any farther into the history of these times, than is absolutely necessary to the understanding the facts I relate, so I chose to give this, and other passages of a like nature, from the most authentic pieces I have met with. The following concise detail of the conspiracy, was published in the *London Gazette*, No. 3161, with the king’s speech, and the joint address of both houses.

“ By the great mercy of God, a discovery has been made of a most horrid and detestable conspiracy, in which many wicked and traitorous persons were engaged to assassinate his majesty,

for assembling, with the utmost diligence, the greatest number of ships possible; and admiral *Ruffel*, after having assisted at a board of *Admiralty*, where proper instructions were prepared, went down to *Deal*, and on the twenty-fifth of *February* hoisted the *Union* flag on board the *Victory*, and in a few days stood over to the coast of *France*, having under his command upwards of fifty ships of the line, *English* and *Dutch*, at a time when the *French* believed we could not assemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their designs, and rendered the invasion absolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for some months employed about it.

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" majesty, when he went abroad. At the same time, a rising
 " was intended within the kingdom, and an invasion from
 " France; to which end, divers French troops were drawn to-
 " wards Dunkirk and Calais, and transport-vessels and boats
 " were got together at those places, of all which his majesty
 " having received several concurring informations and advices,
 " orders were given for apprehending the conspirators. Many
 " of whom have been already seized, and such strict search is
 " made after the rest, that it is hoped few or none of them will
 " escape the hands of justice. The forces in England are in a
 " readiness to march, and a considerable body of his majesty's
 " troops in Flanders, lie ready to embark at Ostend. Admi-
 " ral *Ruffel* is in the Downs, with a Squadron of his majesty's
 " ships, who will be daily reinforced by other men of war
 " from the river and Spithead. And the care that has been
 " taken for the defence and safety of the kingdom, will, we
 " doubt not, with the blessing of God, be sufficient to disap-
 " point the designs of our enemies." ^k On the twenty-
 " fourth of February, there were but eleven ships in the Downs,
 " and by the twenty-eighth, the admiral had with him one first
 " rate, twelve third, twenty four fourths, and three fifth rates,
 " besides fire-ships, and the following flags under him, viz. lord
 " Berkley, admiral of the Blue; sir Cloudesley Shovel, vice-ad-
 " miral of the Red; Mr. Aymer, vice-admiral of the Blue; 1
 " twelve Dutch ships, under two rear-admirals.

Of King WILLIAM III. 157

ON the twenty-eighth of *February*, the admiral came to an anchor off *Gravelin*, with part of the fleet; and lord *Berkley*, with a squadron under his command, lay between him and *Dunkirk*. As the admiral passed by *Calais*, he perceived the harbour crowded with all sorts of small vessels, for the intended embarkation of the *French* troops. As for the seventeen men of war, which were to have escorted them, thirteen were run in as close to the pier of *Dunkirk* as possible, and proved to be all large ships. Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, with some other experienced officers, was sent to look upon them, to see if there was any possibility of burning them or not; but after a long consultation with Mr. *Meesters* and the engineers, it was declared to be impracticable; and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that station, and return into *Dover* road, leaving a squadron under sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, to watch the motions of the enemy¹. This squadron continued cruizing in the *Downs* all the month of *March*, without attempting any thing; but towards the end of the month, being reinforced with several *Dutch* ships, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels, he received orders, on the second of *April*, to undertake the bombardment of *Calais*; in pursuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the necessary dispositions for performing his orders. On the third, the bomb-vessels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcasses fell either in the town, or among the ships in the harbour, with such effect, as to kindle fires in both, and must certainly have done a great deal of mischief^m. But as most of the bomb-vessels and
brigantines

¹ Burchet's memoirs, p. 325. ^m Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, Memoirs de Fourbin.

brigantires had their rigging destroyed, and their mortars dismounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the shore) sir *Claudefley Shovel*, having left a squadron to keep in the *French* men of war at *Dunkirk*, returned into the *Downs*, where he received orders on the eleventh of *April* to join the grand fleet at *Spithead*. But before he could execute these orders, sir *George Rooke* arrived in the *Downs* with his fleet from the *Straights*, and took upon him the command ^a.

ALL the views of *France* were now totally disappointed, and the *English* strength at sea become so formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing against it. Yet to keep up the spirits of the people, and in some measure to embarrass the *English* and *Dutch*, orders were dispatched to the *Toulon* squadron, directing that it should immediately sail into the ocean; and at the same time *John du Bart* was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of *Dunkirk*, with eight men of war and two fire-ships. In the mean time sir *George Rooke* arrived at *Spithead*, after having detached several of his cleanest ships for particular services, received there a commission, appointing him admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His instructions were, to lie in such a station as should be most proper for preventing the *Toulon* squadron from getting into any of the ports of *France*; upon meeting them he was to fight, and upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to use his utmost endeavours to burn or destroy them there; or, in case he had intelligence of their getting safe to *Brest*, he was then to return to *Torbay*, and to remain there till he should receive further orders. On the fourteenth of *May*, 1696, sir *George Rooke*, with the fleet,

^a See our memoirs of sir *George Rooke*.

fleet, being on the coast of *France*, received certain intelligence, that the *Toulon* squadron was safely arrived at *Brest*. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that, as many of the largest ships in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined squadrons in the harbour of *Brest*, they should immediately pursue the last part of their instructions, and return to *Torbay*; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was soon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen sail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle^o.

A resolution having been taken in the privy-council, as to the bombarding the *French* coasts, orders were sent to sir *George Rooke*, towards the latter end of the month of *May*, to return to the service of the board, as one of the lords of the *Admiralty*, it being intended to entrust the fleet, or at least such a part of it as should be employed in the before-mentioned service, to the care of the lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, who had behaved so gallantly the year before. These orders reached sir *George Rooke* on the twenty-seventh of *May*, 1696; but before he returned to *London* he received advice, that seventy *French* men of war were actually lying in *Camarot-Bay*, with three blue flags, and a white one flying; of which he not only gave advice to the *Admiralty*, but on his coming to town, addressed himself to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, then secretary of state, to whom he made the following proposal: "That the
" body of the fleet should lie in *Camarot* and *Bertheaume*
" bays, and a detachment be made to sustain the small
" frigates and bomb-vessels, while they went in to do
" what mischief they could. It was his opinion, that
" thus

^o Burchet's memoirs, p. 341.

“ thus blocking up the enemy’s fleet in their principal
 “ port, insulting their coasts, and burning their towns all
 “ at the same time, would expose them exceedingly to the
 “ world, make them very uneasy at home, and give high
 “ reputation to his Majesty’s arms. And all this he be-
 “ lieved might be done, if speedily undertaken, with the
 “ assistance of some small frigates, which were much
 “ wanted.” If this scheme had been immediately pur-
 sued, it might, in all probability, have been executed with
 success. But after being laid before, and examined by, the
 privy-council, it was at last sent down to the fleet, to be
 re-considered there by a council of war ; when loss of time,
 and other accidents, had rendered it less practicable, and
 therefore we need not wonder that it was rejected P.

LORD Berkley, hoisted the union flag on board the
Britannia, on the third of *June*, 1696, the same day that
 sir *George Rooke* set out for *London* ; but he soon found,
 that notwithstanding his commission, he was very far from
 having the command of the fleet. For having proposed to
 a council of war the attacking of *Brest*, which was the
 project approved by the privy-council, they resolved that it
 was in their opinion impracticable, as on the sixteenth of
 the same month they did the same as to the proposal of sir
George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordship resolving,
 however, not to remain any longer inactive, sailed on the
 twenty-fourth for the *French* coast q. On the third of
July,

P Burchet’s naval history, p. 546. Memoirs of sir George
 Rooke, History of the last war. Though this proposition did
 not turn to the nation’s advantage, yet it was of some use to sir
 George himself ; when, as we shall hereafter observe, the house
 of commons enquired into the conduct of the fleet, and at the
 same time into his behaviour. q London Gazette, No.
 3197, Burchet, Kennaet, Burnet, life of king William, Present
 State of Europe, &c.

July, the admiral sent the *Burford* and the *Newcastle*, with a fire-ship, to the island of *Groy*, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from *Bellisle*, and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a descent upon *Hoat*, one of the islands called *Cardinals*, which they performed, ravaged the whole island, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the same in the island of *Hodiche*, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was sent to captain *Fitzpatrick*, who had landed in the island of *Groy*, where they destroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houses, took a ship from *Newfoundland*, and twenty small vessels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horses and black cattle. The same day sir *Martin Beckman*, who was sent to bombard the town of *St. Martins*, in the isle of *Rhee*, performed his commission very exactly, throwing in the space of one night, two thousand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcasses into the place, by which the best part of the town was burnt down, with all their warehouses, and the goods contained in them; notwithstanding the place was very well fortified, and our squadrons sustained a very warm fire all the time. On the seventh the same squadron, which consisted but of ten men of war, bombarded *Ollorine*, and in the space of a night threw into it almost two thousand bombs and carcasses, which had such an effect, that the town was seen to be on fire in fifteen places at once. After

VOL. III. L this,

I have followed in the text the orthography of lord Berkeley's relation, as it is printed in the Gazette, No. 3203. but the proper names of those islands are Grouais, Houat, Heydic. The admiral certainly acted right in landing where he might do most mischief, and expose his men least. London Gazette, No. 4204. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 431. Life of King William, Present State of Europe.

this, the admiral not finding it convenient to land on *Bellisle*, continued to alarm the *French* coast till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of provisions, and the weakness of the fleet, occasioned by making several detachments, he found himself under a necessity of returning to *Spithead* ^t.

THE *French* affected to ridicule these bombardments, and the same humour seems very unaccountably to have possessed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. *Burchet*, speaking of my lord *Berkley's* exploits, calls them *little Enterprizes*; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the *French* were grievously affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will easily discern, when he is told, that between *Bress* and *Goulat* there were forty batteries erected on one side, and twenty-five on the other; that on these batteries, were mounted, nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above sixty thousand men, quartered up and down on the coasts, to prevent the bad effects of an invasion. If *France* had been under no concern, such precautions would never have been taken, and if she was, the bombardments, that spread this terror, must not have been such slight things as some writers represent them, or if they were, what were those whom they so frightened ^v?

^t Burchet's naval history, p. 547. 548. ^v *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iii. p. 276, *Memoires historiques et chronologiques*, P. Daniel, Burchet's naval history, p. 548. But M. *Devisé*, the *French* Gazetteer, exceeds them all in his account of the matter. The exploits of the English, says he, are so extravagant, that they are scarce credible, and their expeditions so pitiful, that they serve only to excite scorn and contempt. All they did during their stay at *Bellisle*, was to make a descent on the island of *Grouais*, a defenceless place, where they burnt a few houses, carried off a parcel of sheep, ham-

stringed.

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade, was so great, and the orders of the lords of the admiralty were so well executed, that our several fleets of merchant-men returned safe, notwithstanding the *French* made it their principal business to intercept them. In two instances indeed we were somewhat unlucky, the first was in *Newfoundland*, of which an account will be given elsewhere, the other in respect to the *Dunkirk* Squadron, of which the following is a very exact account. In the month of *May*, 1696, rear-admiral *Bombow* had the command given him of a small number of ships, with orders to prevent *Du Bart* from getting out of that port. When the rear-admiral arrived before it, he found the *French* Squadron ready to sail, and his own too small to guard both the east and north channel. He did, however, his best; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruising before the north channel, *Du Bart* gave him the slip, and having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach. Rear-admiral *Bombow* resolved, however, to pursue him, and did so; but the *Dutch*, for want of proper orders, refused to follow him. *Du Bart* in the mean time executed his scheme, which was to attack the *Dutch* *Baltick* fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of *June*. This fleet consisted of upwards of one hundred sail of merchant-ships, under an escort of five frigates. *Du Bart* took all

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string'd 150 horses, and killed the cattel in a church-yard, They burnt also a few houses in the islands of Houat and Heydie. In fine, continues he, the very powder they have spent in these fruitless attempts, must have cost more than the damage, they have done, amounts to. This was certainly very proper news for the court to publish, in order to keep up the spirits of the people; but an Historian surely deserves blame who copies after such an author.

w Burchet's naval history, p. 549, 550.

the men of war, and at least half the merchant-men. In the height of this victory the outward-bound *Baltick* fleet appeared in sight under an escort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked *Du Bart*, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchant-men, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the rest, adrift, so that she was re-taken; but according to the *French* accounts, he returned after all with fifteen prizes into the road of *Dunkirk*. Rear-admiral *Benbow* convoyed afterwards, with his squadron, our northern-bound fleet to *Gottenburgh*, and thence proceeded to *Hamburg*, and returning homewards in the month of *September*, he had sight of *Du Bart's* squadron, and chased him till he saw it was to no purpose: however, he had the satisfaction soon after of joining four *English*, and eleven *Dutch East-India* ships, which came north-about, and thereby escaped the *French* privateers, and luckily enough for them, even *Du Bart* himself, though they must have had sight of his squadron.

THUS ended the naval operations of this year, in this part of the world, where we certainly disappointed all the *French* designs, did them no small damage on their coasts, kept the best part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years past; yet in the next session of parliament, which began on the 20th of *October*, 1696, one of the first things the house of commons did, was, to enter into an enquiry into the late miscarriages of the fleet, and this exposed *Sir George Rooke*, and *Sir Cloudesty Shovel* to several strict

* *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iii. p. 279. *Riencourt*, tom. iii. p. 489. *Jamiers*, tom. ii. p. 606. y *Burchets's* naval history, p. 551.

strict examinations; in which, however, nothing appearing that could be construed either an omission or breach of duty, the affair dropt, and the house afterwards voted the sum of 2,372,197 *l.* for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of seamen².

WE are now arrived at that point of our history, which naturally leads us to take a view of what passed in the *West-Indies* from the beginning of the war, to the close of the next year 1697; and as our reasons for treating this subject at once have been already given at large, we shall enter upon it here without further introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies, as easily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expressed by one of our governors, who, when he was summoned by a man of war to submit to king *William* and queen *Mary*, very sensibly answered, that, if they were king and queen at *Whitehall*, they should be so there, and proclaimed them immediately. By this means the plantations were secured against every thing except foreign invasions, and to these they were not long exposed; since towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a squadron for *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*, under the command of captain *Lawrence Wright*, who was directed to sail as soon as possible, and had very ample instructions given him³. It fell out, however, in conse-

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² See the Journals of the house of Commons, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c. ³ Burchet's naval history, p. 451.

This squadron consisted of ten sail of men of war, viz. One third rate, seven fourth, and two fifth rates, two fire-ships and a Ketch. The duke of Bolton's regiment of foot embarked on board.

quence of abundance of unluckly accidents, that he did not leave *Plymouth* till the eighth of *March* following. Arriving in *Carlisle* bay on the eleventh of *May*, 1690, he found all things there in a better posture than he expected, and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the scurvy, he sailed for the *Leward Islands*, in order to assist general *Codrington*, who was preparing for an expedition against *St. Christopher's*, where we had been joint possessors with the *French*, who had now driven us out, and had made themselves masters of the whole island ^b.

THE commodore sailed on the third of *June* to *Montserrat*, where he was joined by the general from *Antigua*, with such a force, as the *English* colonies could supply. Thence they proceeded together to *Nevis*, in consequence of a resolution taken in a council of war, to make a descent as soon as possible, upon the island of *St. Christopher*. On the twenty third, Sir *Timothy Thornbill* landed with five hundred men, to the east of *Frigot's* bay; and having twice engaged and routed the *French*, marched on to *Basse-Terre*, and in the way, beat the *French* forces a third time. This broke the spirits of the enemy to such a degree, that they gave general *Codrington* no disturbance, when he landed with three thousand men, and marched the same way. The fleet at the same time sailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The *French*, however, saved them the trouble, by
aban-

board it, and the Commodore was instructed to use his best endeavours to secure the English Colonies, assist the Dutch, and distress the French; in all which, he was directed to take the advice of councils of war, of general *Codrington*, the governor and council of *Barbadoes*, &c. ^b Burchet, Kennet, Columna Rostrata, Histoire militaire P. Daniel,

abandoning the place, and setting it on fire. In about three weeks time, the whole island was reduced, and the season of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to *Barbadoes*, and the design of making farther conquests, was postponed to another year ^c.

In the month of *January*, 1691, the commodore received fresh orders from *England*, directing him to stay some time longer in *America*; upon which he took up six of the largest merchant-ships, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of *February* sailed for the *Leward-Islands*. There an unhappy difference sprung up between him and general *Codrington*, which ruined the expedition. For though in the month of *April* they landed in *Marigallante*, and in a great measure ruined that settlement, from whence they proceeded to *Guadelupe*, and remained there some time; yet on the news of a *French* squadron's being in the neighbourhood, they hastily re-embarked their forces, and resolved to abandon the enterprize, at the same time almost that the *French* had determined to abandon the island. Soon after this, Commodore *Wright* returned to *Barbadoes*, where finding his conduct universally disliked, he under pretence of sickness, quitted the command, having first separated the squadron to different services; and soon after returned, with very little reputation to *England* ^d. A certain author indeed tells us, that he was sent home a prisoner, of which, if it had been so, I think secretary

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 555, 556, 557. This was in some measure owing to the sickness of the troops, and to several ships being disabled; but was chiefly occasioned by the Commodore's receiving orders to return to *England*, which, as we shall see were very quickly countermanded. ^d British empire in *America*, vol. ii. p. 54. History of the war, Present state of *Europe*, 1691. ^e Burchet's Memoirs, p. 123.

cretary *Burchet* would scarcely have been ignorant, and yet the contrary is expressly said by him, though he does indeed intimate that he deserved it^e. However we hear no more of him or his deserts!

THE same year some other expeditions were undertaken against the *French* in this part of the world. The colony of *New-England* found itself so liable to disturbance from the settlement the *French* had at *Port-Royal*, in *Nova-Scotia*, that it was resolved to attack it, and that too, as soon as the war broke out. With this view, a considerable fleet, with seven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of sir *William Phips*, who sailed from *Nantascot* on the twenty-eighth of *April*, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his design, and reduced *Port-Royal*, and the adjacent settlements, under the dominion of the *English*. His quick success in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprise of greater importance, which was no less than the reduction of *Quebec*, the capital of the *French* settlements in *Canada*. This was certainly a well laid scheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, must have turned very highly to the advantage of the *English*; as experience has convinced us since. The colony shewed on this occasion a very extraordinary measure of public spirit, by raising no less than two thousand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two sail, great and small, without demanding or expecting any assistance from hence^f.

WITH this force sir *William Phips* sailed from *Hull*, near *Boston*, on the ninth of *August*, and arrived about the beginning

^e Burchet's memoirs, p. 123.
America, vol. i. p. 22,

^f British empire in

beginning of *September*, before the river of *Canada*, but was there unluckily by contrary winds detained in such a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at *Quebec*. This gave the count de *Frontenac*, governor there for the *French*, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the strength of the colony to *Quebec*, which sir *William Phips* expected would have been divided by an army marching over land, and attacking *Mount-Royal* fort, at the same time that he fell upon the city. This army was to consist of a thousand men from *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *Plymouth* colonies, and fifteen hundred *Iroquois*. The *English* marched as far as the great lake of *Canada*, but not finding canoes ready for them to pass it, and the *Indians* not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which miscarriage count *Frontenac* had no need to make any detachments for the security of *Mount-Royal*. Sir *William* summoned the count to surrender the city, but received a very insolent and haughty answer. On the eighth of *October*, the *English* landed under lieutenant-general *Whalley*, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the small-pox, and other diseases. In the mean while, sir *William* brought his ships to bear on the west end of the city, waiting when general *Whalley* would begin the assault. But this gentleman hearing that count de *Frontenac* had four thousand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithstanding the entreaties of the *English* soldiers to the contrary, resolved immediately to re-embark. Sir *William* expecting the signal for their attacking the town on the east side, sent a messenger on shore to know the reason of their not giving the assault; which when he understood, and saw many of the men were

were almost frozen to death, to which we may add the colonel and others ill of the small-pox, he ordered them on board to refresh themselves; and calling a council of war, it was therein resolved to return. Thus ended this fruitless expedition, which cost the colony of *New-England* so large a sum of money, and as to which, mighty expectations had been raised g!

SEVERAL accounts have been given of this unlucky expedition; but most of them written either with a view to load the character of sir *William Phips*, or else purely to excuse his conduct. The bounds of this work will not permit an ample examination of the whole affair, much less a recapitulation of what has been said on both sides. Yet thus much I think, from an impartial consideration of the facts stated by both parties, it is my duty to declare, that sir *William Phips* intended well, and did his best through the whole expedition; though, perhaps, neither his education nor experience, had qualified him for a command of so extensive a nature. But, besides any mistakes he might fall into, there were many untoward accidents which contributed to frustrate this design, and therefore it is equally cruel and unjust to lay the blame entirely at his door. This is certain, that no man could be more sensibly affected than he was by this disappointment; and yet he made it the business of the remaining part of his life, to dispose all things for another attempt, in hopes the success of that might efface the memory of the former miscarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his honour h.

IN

g See the life of sir William Phips, by Cotton Mather, Landon's voyages, vol. i. p. 155. Letter from New-England, dated November 22, 1690, containing an account of the Quebec expedition.

h British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 22.

The

Of King WILLIAM III. 171

IN the latter end of *October*, 1691, captain *Ralph Wren*, who then commanded the *Norwich*, had orders to sail with that, and two other fourth rates, to *Barbadoes*, and from thence to the *Leeward-Islands*, where he was to take upon him the command of such ships as were in that station; and his general instructions were, to secure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He sailed from *Plymouth* on the twelfth of *December*, and on the sixteenth of the next month arrived in *Carlisle-Bay*, in *Barbadoes*. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the *French* had a stout squadron at sea, which had taken the *Jersey*, that was to have joined commodore *Wren*.

UPON the news of this, the governor and council of *Barbadoes* agreed, that two large merchant-ships should be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with these he should attack the *French* squadron, though it consisted of nine sail. Accordingly the commodore quitted *Barbadoes* on the thirteenth of *January*, and cruized for about a week, but without seeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein resolved, that the commodore should proceed with his squadron, and the merchant-ships that were then ready, for the *Leeward-Islands*. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-first of *February*, he fell in with a *French* squadron of eighteen men of war, from sixty to forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-second, the enemy having a
fresh

The New-England letter before-mentioned, which was reprinted at London, in 1691, in 4to. with remarks upon it, under the title of, The humble address of the publicans of New-England, to which king you please.

fresh gale, and most of the commodore's squadron not a breath of wind, four of their ships bore down upon the *Mary*, commanded by lieutenant *Wyat*, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her assistance. At the same time the *Mordaunt*, commanded by captain *Boteler*, with one of the hired ships, and the *England Frigate*, commanded by captain *Stubbs*, were warmly engaged in the very midst of the enemy; but they cleared themselves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great disproportion as to the strength, his squadron consisting then but of seven ships, and that the merchant-ships, which were under his care, had taken the proper and usual methods for their own security, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wisely provided for the safety of the ships of war under his command, by bearing away. He did it, however, with so little sail, that he secured the three ships which the enemy gave chase to: and they, as much tired of his company, readily stood away from him. Thus by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore saved his small squadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the best conducted actions of the war. The gallant commander, however, did not long enjoy that satisfaction which must necessarily result from performing so signal a service as he had done to his country; for as at the very time of the engagement he was in a declining state of health, so very soon after his disease carried him off, and in *August* following, part of his squadron, under the command of captain *Boteler*, returned to *England*;

THE

ⁱ Burchet's naval history, p. 459. British empire in America. life of king William, history of the last war, Present State of Europe.

The government being very sensible of the inconveniences resulting from their want of having a sufficient force in the *West-Indies*, resolved in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from most of the colonies on that subject, by sending a powerful fleet thither, under the command of sir *Francis Wheeler*, as gallant and as judicious an officer, as any in the navy. The squadron he was to command consisted of twelve men of war, besides smaller vessels; and he was likewise empowered to take under his command such ships of war, as he should find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy also a certain number of transports, with fifteen hundred land troops, and had assurance given him, that he should find another body of very good troops, ready assembled in *Barbadoes*; and in conjunction with them he had orders to attack some of the *French* settlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce ^k.

Sir *Francis* left our coast in the beginning of *January*, and on the twenty-sixth of the same month touched at *Madeira*, from whence he sailed for *Barbadoes*, and arrived there on the first of *March*. There it was unanimously resolved, in a full council of war, that *Martinico* should be the place attacked; and advice was sent to general *Codrington* of the arrival of the squadron, that he might draw together the forces of the *Leeward-Islands*, in order to join the regiments brought from *England*, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raised in *Barbadoes*; to which sir *Francis Wheeler* offered to join another regiment, composed of seamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in

^k The state of sir *Francis Wheeler's* squadron was this, two third rates, six fourths, three fifths, one sixth, three fire-ships, a store-ship, hospital, and bomb vessel. See *Burchet's* memoirs, &c.

in person. April the fifteenth, 1693, the Squadron, with all these troops on board, arrived at *Gul de Sac Royal*, in *Martinico*; but instead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was resolved in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men should re-embark, and the Squadron sail to *Dominica*, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very sickly, an opportunity of refreshing themselves. As the commodore was very sensible this manner of acting would be indifferently relished at home, he desired and insisted, that every member of the council of war should give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, scarce any but sir *Francis Wheeler*, and lieutenant-colonel *Colt*, were for landing and acting vigorously. The reasons insisted on by such as voted for a contrary measure, were, that the enemy had a superior force, that one full third of our soldiers were *Irish* papists, not to be relied on, and that hazarding an engagement in these circumstances, was hazarding the whole *Leeward-Islands*, since, in case of a defeat, they had not a sufficient force to defend them. These were chiefly insisted on by general *Codrington*, who declared, however, that he was ready to attempt *Dominica*, provided the fleet could remain in those parts six weeks or two months; but this being inconsistent with the commodore's instructions, and the troops from *Barbados* impatient to return, was not, indeed, could not be, complied with. Such was the issue of this expedition, of which, in *England*,
from

¹ The French made a grand affair of this, and have drawn up fine accounts of their repulsing and defeating the English, though there happened but two slight skirmishes. *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 172. *Histoire militaire*, par M. Quincy, tom. ii. *Histoire de Louis XIV.* tom. v.

from the commodore's known character, there were high expectations.

SIR Francis, towards the latter end of *May*, sailed for *New-England*, and arrived at *Boston* on the twelfth of *June*. He immediately proposed to sir *William Phips*, then governor, the attacking *Quebec* a second time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-spirited man, yet as circumstances then stood, he could not close with it. Such an expedition required a strength of four thousand men at least, and these (having had no previous notice) the governor could not possibly draw together by the beginning of *July*, which was the very latest a fleet that was to be thus employed could fail; and therefore this grand design appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by those two men, who of all others, had it most at heart. This disappointment determined the commodore to quit *Boston* as soon as possible; and therefore on the third of *August* he left that place, and proceeded for *Newfoundland*, resolving to attempt something there worthy of the force with which he left *England*, and the honour allowed him of carrying the *Union flag*, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would result to the nation from his expedition. On the eighteenth of *August* he arrived at *Placentia*, and found the enemy much stronger there than he expected; for, in the first place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour several stout privateers, the haven itself excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, &c. with at least two thousand soldiers and inhabitants, well disciplined, and most of them old *Buccaneers*. Sir *Francis*, however, was not to be discouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method

thod in which the place ought to be attacked at once by sea and land; and took upon himself the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the most dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to six sea-officers in this council, they *resolved* the whole to be impossible and impracticable. Sir *Francis Wheeler* was exceedingly chagrined at this new disgrace, but to shew how little this inactivity agreed with his disposition, he gave orders for destroying the *French* fishery at *St. Peter's*; which was done effectually, and so that it was not very soon, or very easily recovered ^m.

ON the twenty-eighth of *August*, he sailed from the bay of *Bulls* in *Newfoundland* for *England*, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of *October* following, his ships in a bad, and his men in a much worse condition, so that they were scarce able to navigate them. Yet as unfortunate as this expedition proved from first to last, sir *Francis Wheeler* never fell under the least censure. The accounts he transmitted home, joined to the letters from the respective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, justified him so clearly, and set his courage and conduct in so fair a light, that, when he arrived at *Portsmouth*, he had the satisfaction of finding a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the *Red*; a preferment, which as it was obtained purely by merit, so it never exposed him to envy ⁿ.—But to look now to another coast.

THE *Royal-African* company finding themselves much disturbed in their trade, by the new settlements made by the *French* in the mouth of the river *Sennegal*, and having exact

^m Burchet's memoirs, p. 171. 172. British Empire in America, life of king William, Present State of Europe, history of the war. ⁿ Burchet's memoirs, p. 174. Sir George Rooke's memoirs, history of the last war.

exact intelligence of the schemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in those parts, and destroying ours, resolved to exert the great force they had in *Guinea*, to secure themselves from all these apprehensions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if possible, to the dispossessing them of their settlements before they could gain any intelligence of the design. If on their forming this project, they had applied themselves to the administration, and had either procured assistance for the execution of it, or assurance of having their conquests protected, they had certainly carried their point, and the *French* been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps, for ever. But they were at this time so much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was transacted at the secretary's office, that the *African* company resolved to risque this undertaking, without communicating their secret to any body. With this view they sent orders to *John Booker*, esq; then their agent-general in *Guinea*, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the design which they had formed; and, that he might be satisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they sent him a copy of the commission they had received from the king and queen, empowering them to commit hostilities, and annoy the enemy in all places within their jurisdiction.

Mr. *Booker*, upon receipt of these letters and this commission, immediately applied himself to execute what the company directed, and in the month of *December*, 1692, having drawn together a sufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ships and sloops, and sailing from the river of *Gambia*, arrived in the mouth of the river of

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M

Sennegal

* Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. v. p. 428. History of the war, Present State of Europe, 1695.

Sennegal on new-year's-day, 1693^p. Having with some difficulty got over the bar, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking fort *Bourbon*; but the governor, M. *Dumoulin*, knowing his own condition best, and that he must soon be compelled to surrender, sent to Mr. *Booker* to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This proposition was accepted, and the *English* that evening entered into possession of the fort, which the *French* had held upwards of fifty years. Mr. *Booker* continued here till the twenty-fifth of the same month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a descent on the island of *Goeree*, the only place which remained to the *French* in *Guinea*. He arrived there on the first of *February*, and after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. *Michael*, a well fortified place, furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made some shew of defending themselves at first; but being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they desired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to *James-Island*, in vertue of the articles signed by Mr. *Booker*; from whence they were to be transported into *Europe*, on board the company's shipping. but at their own expence ^q.

AFFAIRS in the *West-Indies* went all this time extremely ill: the *French* destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made

^p Mr. *Booker's* letter in the collection of voyages, that has been before cited. ^q Memoirs of the proceedings of the royal African company, from 1690, to 1701, by Mr. John Snow.

made descents upon them, particularly on *Jamaica*, where they made great havock, and enriched themselves exceedingly at our expence. The few ships of war we had in those parts, were so far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that several of them were taken by the enemy; and in short, things were in so bad a way, that the administration at home thought the loss of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the instructions given to the commodores of the squadrons, and the commanders in chief of land troops. On the other hand, our good allies the *Spaniards*, were no less, or rather were still more distressed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was destroyed, their coasts plundered, and every thing subject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole squadrons from the *French* settlements in *Hispaniola*. As I profess to speak truth without reserve, as far as I can discover it, so upon this occasion I think myself obliged to say, that these advantages were not so much owing either to the force or courage of the *French* in those parts, as to the want of public spirit, and right management in us, as well as in the *Spaniards*. The *French* governors seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the glory of their country, and a just discharge of their own duty; whereas ours were generally involved in disputes with the people they should have protected, and much more intent on encreasing their own private fortunes, and that too at any rate, than vindicating the honour of the nation, and securing the properties of those they governed. In one thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the most pressing instances to the ministry at home, to take more care of our concerns in the *West-Indies*, by sending proper squadrons,

and with them sufficient supplies of land-forces into those parts.

ABOUT the beginning of the year 1694, some proposals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, to drive the *French* out of the island of *Hispaniola*. To this there was at first some attention given; but afterwards it being represented, as indeed the truth was, that the *Spaniards* were neither willing nor able to join with us in any such undertaking, it was laid aside. Other business intervening, neither the council nor the board of admiralty seem to have thought any more of the plantations, till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a brisk attempt made upon *Jamaica* by M. *Ducasse*, the *French* governor of *St. Domingo*. He sailed in the month of *June* with three men of war, and twenty-three transports, having on board fifteen hundred men for the coast of *Jamaica*, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the same month, and made a descent on *Port-Morant*, which they found abandoned, and marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and destroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value*. But they soon found that the fine schemes of conquest they had formed to themselves, were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do, was to return with what they had got. The people of *Jamaica*, when they found their property in danger, assembled readily for its defence, and behaved themselves so well in an engagement with the *French*, that it contributed not a little

* British empire in America, History of the past and present state of *Jamaica*, History of the last war, &c. * See a detail of M. *Ducasse*'s expedition against *Jamaica*, in, *histoire de St. Domingue*, par le P. *Charlevoix*, vol. iii. p. 37.

little to make the latter for the present sick of this design, and to hinder them from resuming it afterwards^t.

THE complaints that were sent home on this affair, joined to the representations of other colonies, the remonstrances of the *West-India* merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, (which was then terrible) obliged the ministry to resume this long neglected subject, and to think seriously of sending to *America* such a force, and under such officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a squadron of five sail of men of war, and two fire-ships, with twelve transport-vessels, should be got ready with the utmost diligence and secrecy, to rendezvous at *Plymouth*, in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the squadron was given to captain *Robert Wilmot*, an officer of great reputation and experience. The command of the land-forces was entrusted with colonel *Luke Lillingston*, and that they might be more subject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a single regiment, consisting of twelve hundred men; and besides these, there were spare arms for another regiment, and in short every thing else provided that could be desired for securing the success of such an expedition; and all this was done with such secrecy, that even the officers, who were to be employed, had no distinct knowledge of the particular design they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be sent to the *West-Indies*, in order to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy. When all things were ready, the commodore had his instructions given him sealed up, with orders not to open them, till he arrived in the lati-

^t British empire in America, History of Jamaica, History of the last war.

tude of forty degrees. Instructions were also given to colonel *Lillingston*, for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they set out for *Plymouth*, both the commodore and the colonel were separately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correspondence, because that hitherto all our expeditions had suffered more through the weakness and misunderstandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct shewn by the enemy; and that this might be the easier, their commands were made as distinct as possible ^u.

THE Squadron sailed from *Plymouth*, the latter end of the month of *January*; but before they were in a condition to act, the commanders had differed, and all things were in confusion. Colonel *Lillingston*, in his account, asserts, that the commodore opened his instructions in an unwarrantable manner; and, that after he had done so, he proposed to the colonel, to take what care they could of themselves, at the expence of the public service. The colonel rejected this offer, as became a man of honour; and the commodore thenceforward, prepared to execute his scheme, in spite of all the colonel could do to prevent him ^v. Towards the latter end of *March*, 1695, they arrived before the city of *St. Domingo*, where the *Spanish* governor, on the receipt of the king of *Spain*'s letters, promised them all the assistance in his power; but how he performed this promise, is not very well agreed. Mr. secretary

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 531. Colonel *Lillingston*'s remarks on Burchet's naval history, 8vo. 1704. ^w Reflections on Burchet's Memoirs, p. 19. I have been the longer in my account of this business, that the reader may see what are the true reasons, why conjunct expeditions never succeed, and how necessary it is to call officers strictly to account when they live to return home, in order to put an end to such shameful practices.

cretary *Burchet* in his history, from the letters, no doubt, of commodore *Wilmot*, charges him with creating unnecessary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition *. On the other hand, colonel *Lillingston* asserts, that the *Spanish* governor behaved in every respect like a man of honour, concerted with him the measures necessary to be taken for attacking cape *Francois*, and performed all he undertook with the utmost punctuality. It must be observed, that the force of the allies then in *Hispaniola*, was such, as that the ruin of the *French* settlements might have been well expected from it. The *Spanish* governor marched one thousand seven hundred men; the commander of our land forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promised to join this force with five hundred seamen; the *Spaniards* actually added three men of war to our fleet, and to prevent any disputes about the command, the *Spanish* admiral took down his flag †.

THE first thing that was attempted, was the ruin of the *French* settlement at cape *Francois*. When the fleet was arrived within sight of the place, the commodore absolutely prescribed the place where the land forces should go on shore; and though colonel *Lillingston* represented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when by rowing one league

* *Burchet's* naval history, p. 535. Indeed this gentleman seems to have an extraordinary pique against the *Spaniards*; whom, though our allies at that time, he never mentions but with reproach. This is the more injurious, since Mr. *Burchet* (though he had so great opportunity) never supports what he advances by any authority. It would, however, be hard to set the judgment of a single Man so high as to sacrifice to it the character of a whole nation. † *Reflections on Burchet's* memoirs, p. 48. where the agreement itself is to be found; for Colonel *Lillingston* always produces vouchers.

league and a half, the boats might land them close by the fort which they were to attack ; the commodore only gave him the hearing, but pursued his own project, and they soon discovered with what view. The *English* and *Spanish* troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march, 'till they arrived within five miles of fort *St. Francis* ; where, they saw the *French* blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were surprized to find *English* colours hoisted on the fort, and a single seaman left to attend them : but the mystery was soon explained, commodore *Wilmot* no sooner saw the place abandoned, than he rowed ashore with five hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This disgusted, as it well might, both the *English* and *Spanish* forces ; and if they had not been composed of veteran troops, and men who had a great respect for their officers, a mutiny must have followed, which would have destroyed the whole design. But colonel *Lillingston* pacified them as well as he could, by promising to take care they should not be treated so for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it.

AFTER this extraordinary exploit, it was resolved to attempt port *de Paix*, where M. *Ducasse* commanded in person ; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garrison of six hundred men.

ON the first of *June*, the *English* and *Spanish* troops marched by two different roads, towards the place they were to attack, and the squadron sailed thither at the same time ; but with this extraordinary circumstance, that if the *Spanish* admiral, out of pure humanity, had not left some trans-

transports to take in our sick men, they must have been left to perish; for commodore *Wilmot* had something else in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore sailed as soon as the resolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing, it took up sixteen days before they arrived in sight of *Port de Paix*; and then there was a great deal of time lost in getting the artillery and ammunition on shore. At last, this too was performed, and then the siege of the place was begun in a regular manner; and the commodore, to shew his willingness to assist, landed a great body of seamen, and invested it on the other side. On the third of *July*, the breach being practicable, and colonel *Lillingston* employed in making the necessary dispositions for a general storm, the enemy took a resolution of deserting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force consisted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and disciplined. Their greatest difficulty was, to carry off their women, children, and the most valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up first, and put them in small bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good escort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our seamen, and by exposing themselves to a very brisk fire, which lasted for a long time, gave the rest an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal resolution and address; but not without a very considerable loss. Colonel *Lillingston*, as soon as he heard the firing, guessed at the cause, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to support the seamen. When Major *Lillingston* arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take possession of the fort,



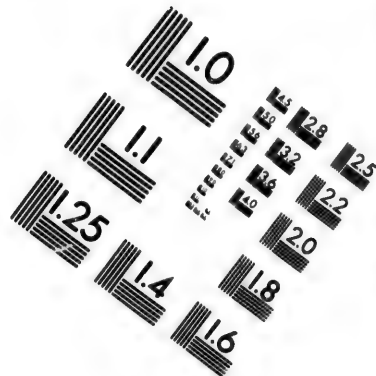
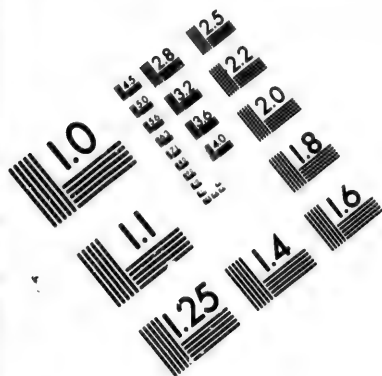
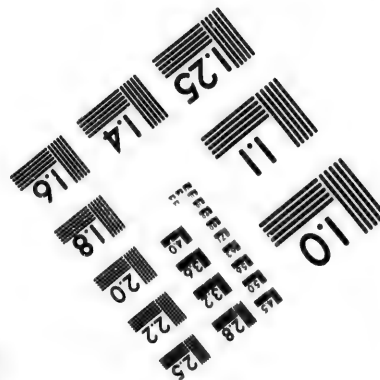
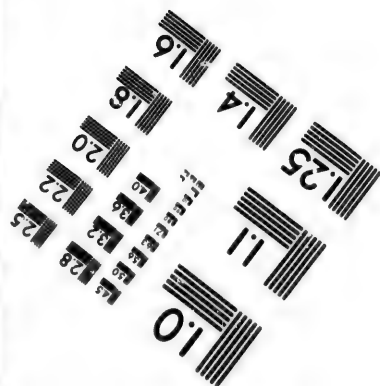
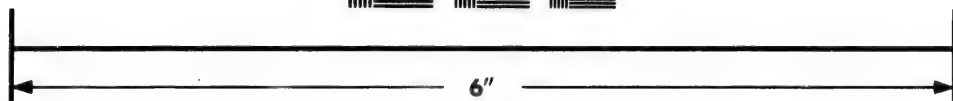
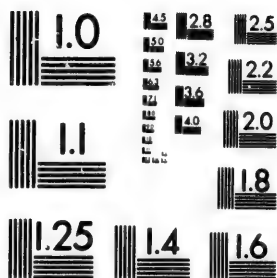


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fort, in order to secure whatever the *French* had left behind them ; and having posted centinels every where, and put the rest of his men under arms, he thought that all was safe, but in this he was mistaken ; Commodore *Wilmot*, at the head of his whole corps of seamen, followed him instantly. As soon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his shoulder, with this familiar salutation, *Now, Major, I am stronger than you.* After which, he removed his guards, broke open the store-houses, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, *with a dexterity*, says Colonel *Lillingston*, *very natural to seamen* ^a.

THIS kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good ; the commodore offered to carry the sick men to *Jamaica*, and to leave Colonel *Lillingston* to attempt, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, the taking *Leogane* and *Petit-Guavas* ; but they were weary of such kind of treatment, and had so many men disabled by the unnecessary hardships to which they had been exposed, that it was resolved in a council of war, not to prosecute either of the designs before-mentioned ; but to demolish the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and sail with all the *English* forces to *Jamaica*. To this, the *Spanish* governor consented, because he saw the impossibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected ; and of this, he was the better judge, because he had an exact account of the *French* forces that M. *Ducasse* was assembling at *Cul de Sac*, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preserving the *French* settlements ; though in this there was a great deal of danger ^b.

IT

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 536. Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 67. Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 73.
^b Burchet's naval history, p. 537.

It must not be supposed, that because this expedition was in itself very ill managed, and far from being glorious to those that undertook it; it must not, I say, be therefore supposed, that it did but very little prejudice to the *French*.

THE confederate army, in sixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thousand negroes, demolished two strong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vast quantity of all sorts of ammunition, and naval stores; so that there seems to be no reason to think colonel *Lillingston* exaggerated, who computes the loss of the *French* at 2,000,000*l. c.* But what recompence is this for the expence the nation was at in fitting out such a squadron, and in sending so great a body of land troops so far? What opinion must the commodore's conduct give our allies the *Spaniards*, of *English* armaments, and what notions could they entertain of

c It is necessary for me here to give the reader some account of the authorities on which the facts mentioned in the text are founded. In the year 1703, secretary Burchet published his memoirs of transactions at sea, during the war with France, from 1688 to 1697. In these memoirs, p. 305. he gives a large account of this expedition, which is altogether in favour of Mr. Wilmot, and was very probably transcribed from his letters. In 1704, Colonel Luke Lillingston published his reflections on Mr. Burchet's memoirs, in which he advances nothing but upon undeniable authority, producing instructions, letters, affidavits, and other necessary papers upon every occasion. Yet, notwithstanding all this, when secretary Burchet came to publish his naval history in 1720, he in a manner transcribed what he had before said in his memoirs, correcting only a few facts from colonel Lillingston's book, by which, however, he admits its authority, but without setting any mark of ignominy upon this most scandalous expedition. At this, Mr. Lediard very honestly expresses his surprize; but, for my own part, when I consider, the admiralty never thought this affair worth an enquiry, I do not at all wonder their secretary did not think proper to censure it.

of the significancy of our naval force, when they saw it so flagrantly misapplied ; our commander in chief having regard only to his private views, and encouraging his seamen upon all occasions to behave like pirates? How much must this miscarriage at once disgrace and discourage an administration, since it seemed to shew, that all attempts of this sort would prove as fruitless for the future, and serve only to exhaust the treasures of this nation, in order to enrich such as least deserved it? I am very sorry that I have been obliged to say so much ; but every reader will do me the justice to own, that this subject compelled me to it. We suffer, at this day, for the misdeeds of these times, and the false pity that was shewn in letting slip the public examination, of a thing so scandalous as this was^d. Reflections like these, on the slips of our ancestors, are proper lessons for the present generation ; and I think it my duty to inculcate them, in order to prevent our being wanting, in the same manner, to ourselves and our posterity.

THE account given us of this affair by *French* writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they give great commendations to M. *Ducasse*, governor of St. *Domingo*, who was certainly a very gallant man, but who, as certainly, had no opportunity of shewing his bravery on
this

^d The general answer to what has been said upon this subject, is, that all inquiry was prevented by the commodore's death. But, surely, this is a very poor excuse. To an intelligent reader, it will appear, that, an effectual inquiry might have been more easily made after his death, than in the life of the commodore. His influence was then determined, he could not be hurt by the inquiry, all his creatures were at full liberty to speak ; and, as knowing the truth only was of importance to the public, in order to prevent such detestable actions for the future, the burying all this villany as far as possible in oblivion, is inexcusable to the nation.

this occasion. In the main, however, they agree, that misunderstandings between the allies, proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the same time overjoy people more, than the news of the *English* troops embarking for *Jamaica*, did M. *Ducasse* and his army. The same writers intimate, that the colony of *Jamaica* was much wanting to itself, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a descent on the *French* settlements, in revenge for the mischiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. *Ducasse*, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the *French* must have been driven out of *Hispaniola*; and, as things then stood, there is no great reason to doubt the *Spaniards* would have been very well pleased to have seen an *English* colony settled in their room, as well knowing their own inability to preserve the island without such assistance.

BUT all such views for the glory of *England*, were effectually defeated by the sailing away of the *English* squadron from *Hispaniola* on the twenty-third of *July*, 1695, with all the land-forces on board. The governor and people of *Jamaica* gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to consider how practicable a second attempt might be in conjunction with a considerable force from this island. But after much deliberation, this design also came to nothing. The commodore in the mean time followed his business closely; that is to say, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he vested in all sorts of merchandize fit for the *English* market, and took in the goods

* Histoire de St. Domingue, tom iv. p 63—75. Histoire militaire, tom. iii. Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. &c.

goods privately on the back of the island. When this was done, his next care was to get back to *England* with his squadron, with the great wealth he had amassed on board of it. He left *Jamaica* on the third of *September*, 1695, but met with a very bad passage. On the shoals of *Florida* he lost a fourth rate man of war, in a manner which gave great cause to suspect he never intended to bring her home ^f. After this an epidemic distemper broke out on board the ships, which carried off a multitude of sailors and soldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himself. This disease prevailed at last to such a degree, that there was scarce found men enough to bring home the squadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help closing this account by observing, that commodore *Wilmot* left sixteen thousand pounds in effects on board his own ship, which engaged his family in a long suit with captain *Butler*. Such are the wretched effects of sacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private interest ! §

TOWARDS

^f One may see by colonel Lillingston's whole book, how much more jealous men of honour are of their reputation, than statesmen of a nation's glory. The colonel's account of this affair was printed but seven years after the thing happened, and yet no search was made into the matter. His words are these.

" It would be a most diverting thing, abating for the disaster of it, and the lives lost in it, to hear a true particular of the loss of the *Winchester* man of war. If I am not misinformed, there would come to light a great many hidden circumstances, very useful to the nation in general, if the loss of that man of war were enquired into. If due examination were made, whether all the stores and guns that were pretended to be in her, were really on board her ; and if the loss of that ship did not serve for a colour to pretend the loss of many things, which were otherwise disposed of." Lillingston's reflections, p. 130.

§ Mr. Burchet confesses the epidemic sickness

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invasion. It was known that the *French* were fitting out a strong squadron at *Brest*; and for what service, the intelligence our secretaries had, could not inform them. Sir *Claudesley Shovel*, therefore, was sent with a considerable force to block them up, which however the *French* avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had disappointed the designs of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a descent. In this we only deceived ourselves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true scheme, which was the sending a strong squadron into the *West-Indies*, to attack some of the *Spanish* plantations in those parts. The *Sieur Pointis* was the

sickness on board the fleet; and colonel Lillingston informs us, that the commodore's widow was actually involved in a lawsuit with captain Butler, in 1704, for the plunder so basely taken from the poor soldiers and sailors, who acquired a just title to it by the sweat of their brows, and the expence of their blood. In order to support this fact, I shall give the reader a passage from the monthly Mercury for December, 1696. "The great noise made about Pointis's squadron that was equipping at Brest, and which, as it was furnished with a vast number of scaling ladders, bombs, pontons, and other materials for a descent, and for the attack of places on shore, had given the alarm to all the dominions of Great Britain, is at last over; and those that were most frightened, are now most inclined to treat it with contempt; for whether it was, that Pointis wanted a money-wind to carry him out of port, or, that his project had not received the least sanction of the court, so it was, that his Britannic majesty had time enough to send sir Cloudesley Shovel with a strong squadron to inspect this fleet, which was reported to be strong enough to attempt the invasion of his kingdoms; and on his looking into the port, it appeared, there were but sixteen men of war of all sorts there; so that, whatever the design of Pointis's squadron was, it seems to be vanished into smoke."

the person who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no less than three years in bringing it to bear. The *French* king had suffered a great number of private persons to contribute towards this enterprize, and the strongest assurances were given them, that whatever profits accrued thereby, should be fairly divided amongst them. Orders were privately sent to M. *Ducasse*, in *Hispaniola*, to assemble as many *Buccaneers* as he could, with vessels proper to support them; and he was to have these ready to join M. *Pointis's* Squadron, as soon as it appeared. The true design all along was upon *Carthagera*; but such as pretended to be in the secret at the *French* court, gave out, that the king intended this armament to execute a project, long ago formed by M. *Ducasse*, of driving the *Spaniards* entirely out of *Hispaniola*. But, notwithstanding this variety of reports, some of king *James's* adherents fancied that they had penetrated farther than any of these politicians, and that the true design of this mysterious armament, was against *Jamaica*; and of this, *Englishmen*, they thought it their duty to advise our countrymen. At first this

ⁱ The political tracts of that year, best inform us what the sentiments of the world were upon that occasion; because later writers are apt to impose upon us, by pretending, that this or that great minister had actually discovered the secret very early, though, for certain reasons of state, it was not published. Now it clearly appears from those writings, that nothing of this kind happened; and it is as certain, from *Pointis's* journal, that he never had any other view, than that of attacking *Carthagera*, notwithstanding so many other projects were talked of. The informations I speak of from France, I know from unquestionable authority; for as the author of the *Jewish* letters rightly observes, the *English* refugees at *St. Germain's*, were quite a different sort of people from the refugees in *Soho*; for they loved their country, though they were banished from it; and like

this was considered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, because considering the force we had in that part of the world, if they had really attempted this island, there was but too great probability of their succeeding. When this matter, however, came to be deliberated upon in council, and several of the most intelligent persons there seemed convinced that the blow was meant at us, king *William* declared himself of a contrary opinion, for a reason which shewed how well he understood mankind, and how justly the *French* king dreaded his capacity in the closet. His majesty observed, that the basis of the *French* king's new expedition was private interest, not public utility, or national glory; for which reason he concluded they would neither endeavour to conquer *Hispaniola*, nor attack *Jamaica*, but either attempt the taking the *Spanish* galleons, or the surprizing of *Carthagera*. The good sense of this observation brought over every body to his opinion, and the sequel will shew, that the *Sieur Pointis*, and the rest of the *French* commanders (M. *Ducasse* always excepted) never considered in this expedition, what was best to be done, but how most might be got; in which piratical kind of knowledge they proved much greater proficient than the *Buccaneers* themselves ^k.

VOL. III. N TO

like the Greek Exiles of old, in the Persian court, shew'd those who were inured to slavery, how great a blessing it is to be born and bred up free. ^k Bishop Burnet in his history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. expresses a good deal of dislike to the management of our affairs at sea in this critical conjuncture; but, whoever considers the matter strictly, will find all the reason in the world to commend the disposition made by our court, for preventing the *French* from executing their design in the West-Indies. We ought always to distinguish between the laying of a scheme, and the carrying it into execution;

To parry this blow, wherever it was intended, orders were given for a small squadron to assemble at *Portsmouth*, under the command of Captain *Merze*; and other orders were at the same time dispatched to Mr. *Neville*, who commanded our fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and should be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from *Cadiz*. He found himself in this situation about the middle of the month of *February*, 1696-7, and then opening his instructions, perceived that he was to join Captain *Micx*'s squadron at the island of *Madeiras*, where after cruising a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a rear admiral, in his own ship the *Bristol*, and the *Lightning* fire-ship having lost company with the rest of his squadron in a fog, a little after he left the *Isle of Wight*. On the seventeenth of *April*, vice-admiral *Neville* arrived at *Barbadoes*, where he found most of the ships he expected, except the *Dutch*, who joining him soon after, they bore away for *Antigua*, where they arrived the third of *May*, 1697. There it was resolved, in a council of war, to sail for *Porto Rico*, in order to take as much care as possible of the *Spanish* galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. *Pointis* was sailed from *Hispaniola* on the twenty first of *March*, N. S. with twenty-six ships small and

execution; for the same praise is due to the contrivers of a good scheme, though it fails of its effect, as if it had met with the wish'd for success. Here was a force superior to the French, who had been three years providing theirs, assembled in less than three months: and if the orders given to our admirals, had been strictly complied with, they had been as early in the West-Indies, as the enemy, if they were not, it was no fault either of the council, or the board of admiralty.

and great. It was then resolved in a council of war, to proceed forthwith to *Jamaica*, in order to take in a supply of water and provisions¹.

ON the fifteenth of *May*, 1697, the admiral being off the east end of the island met with a sloop, the master whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the *French* squadrons being before *Carthagena*; upon this he staid no longer than was absolutely necessary to take in water, but sailed from *Port-Royal*, and attempted to go out of the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all persons acquainted in those parts, the sea breeze blew for six days and six nights together, during which time, an *English* sloop came in, that left *Porto Bello* the eighteenth of this month, in company of the galleons, (which were fifteen in number) and two days after parted with them, steering away N. N. E. for *Jamaica*, where they intended to take in provisions, for which they were so much streightened, that they had not enough to carry them to the *Havanna*. The vice-admiral sent out two sloops to look for them, the one off the keys of *Point-Pedro*, and the other off those of *Porto-Morant*; and to let their general know, that he was going to *Carthagena*, to see what could be done against the *French*, but that he would return to *Jamaica* in a short time. The

N 2

twenty

¹ Mr. Burchet tells us, both in his memoirs and his history, that vice-admiral Neville cruized fifty eight days about the *Madeiras*, to which, if he thought himself bound by his instructions, he was certainly justified; but however, this certainly proved the ruin of the whole affair; for if he had stood away for *Barbadoes*, instead of cruising there, he might have come time enough to have attacked the *French* before they left *Hispaniola*, or at least he might have followed them to *Carthagena*.

twenty fourth of the same month he took advantage of a small gale from shore, to steer for *Carthagena*, in hopes of finding the *French* either embarrassed in the siege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for according to the best accounts he could get, the *Spaniards* were very strong there, and had been so lucky also as to have pretty early intelligence of the visit that was designed them; but the cross accidents that kept the vice-admiral so long on the coast of *Jamaica*, frustrated his good intentions, and hindered our re-taking from the *French* the best part of what they took from the *Spaniards*, which must otherwise certainly have happened ^m.

IN order to give a distinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is somewhat partially related both by *English* and *French* writers, I must pursue the history of *Pointis's* voyage, and shew how and when he executed the scheme he proposed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice-admiral *Neville* failed in search of him and his squadron. As the success of *Pointis's* expedition depended upon the assistance he was to receive at St.

Domingo,

na, where, if he had attacked their fleet, while their army was engaged in the siege, their whole force must have been totally destroyed. ^m The admiral's going to *Jamaica* was another misfortune; for, as it will be hereafter shewn, if he had sailed directly on the first Intelligence he had for *Carthagena*, he must have surprized M. *Pointis*, and destroyed his whole force. But, if according to the admiral's journal, he was under an absolute necessity of taking in water; this is to be considered as an unavoidable misfortune. These are points I leave to the reader's judgment to determine; for none of our accounts afford us sufficient light to decide positively on the matters of fact, though this is certainly in the admiral's favour; that he was known to have as much personal courage, as any man; and that he afterwards shew'd as great an inclination to fight upon this occasion, as any man ever did or indeed could do.

Domingo, he sailed thither directly, and arrived on the coast *February 19, 1697*. The governor, *M. Ducasse*, had taken care to provide every thing pursuant to his instructions, so that the *Sieur Pointis* met with no retardment, but what proceeded from his own imperious disposition, which hindered him from giving the *Buccaneers* the satisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could have quieted, but the presence of *M. Ducasse*, who was actuated wholly by public spirit, and exerted his utmost interest among these people to keep them steady, at the same time he suffered as much as they did from the insolence of the general, who, proud of his commission, and full of himself, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumstances of othersⁿ. After about a fortnight's stay to forward necessary preparations, the whole fleet sailed for *Carthagena*, and arrived before that city on the third of *April*. The force brought from *France* by *M. Pointis*, consisted of seven large ships of war, about ten frigates, and small vessels of several sorts, on board which were two thousand two hundred and sixty seamen, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty soldiers, in all four thousand and ten, to which *M. Ducasse* added another stout squadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred *Buccaneers*,

N 3 soldiers

ⁿ In the whole of this relation, I reduce all the dates to the old stile, for the sake of comparing them readily, which could not have been otherwise done. As to the facts, we have a vast variety of relations, though I think, but two of any great authority, viz *Pointis's* own memoirs, and the history of *St. Domingo*, written by father *Charlevoix*, on the memoirs of father *Pers*, and from the registers in the public offices in the marine in *France*, where I find these differ too widely to be reconciled, there, I prefer, without ceremony, the latter, because 'tis evident, that *Sieur Pointis* had views to serve; whereas father *Charlevoix* writes without the least bias. Occasionally, I have recourse to other authorities, which I refer to in their proper places.

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soldiers and volunteers. They first attacked the strong fort of *Boca Chica*, which was carried by assault; then they attacked *Nuestra Señora de la Popa*, a monastery on a hill, which commands the place; they besieged and took likewise the fort of *St. Lazarus*, and at length stormed the suburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation, and this being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded *April 24, 1697*, when the city was surrendered to the *French*, who lost before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken, but for the assistance of *M. Ducaffe*, and the troops he commanded; though *Pointis* used them very ill through the whole affair; and after it was taken, actually shut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the distribution of the booty, and not allowing so much as a check on such as received it o.

MANY disputes have been raised as to the value of the plate, and other effects, taken by the *sieur Pointis* in this place. Some have carried this so high as forty millions of livres, and others, amongst whom is *M. Pointis* himself, reduce it to nine millions. There are several reasons which have induced different writers to impose upon their readers in this particular p. All the *Spanish* authors who have mentioned this, say, they had sent the nuns, together with one hundred and twenty mules, laden with gold and jewels

^o This we find both in *Pointis's* memoirs, and in the history of *St. Domingo*. The general indeed pretends, the *Buccaneers* behaved ill; but the court of France, on the closest examination, thought otherwise, and therefore, so I think ought we. ^p *Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 146. *Memoires de Pontis*, &c. *Father Daniel*, in his *Journal Historique de Louis XIV* p. 187, computes the riches brought home by *Sieur Pointis*, at ten millions; and this, as I take it, was the commonly received calculation at that time.

els, forty miles up into the country, before the *French* arrived; but then it is visibly their interest to abate, as much as possible, the credit of this expedition; and this, perhaps, is now become the *French* interest too. The *sieur Pointis*, and his partizans, had also cause sufficient to state this account as low as possible, because the lower they brought it, the less they had to account for; which was what they wanted. Our historians in those days were desirous of lessening the success of all *French* expeditions, and therefore, as we see in the celebrated work of bishop *Burnet*, that prelate affected to treat this as a miscarriage, by which the *French*, on the whole, could scarce be called gainers ^a. But a man who is solicitous only about truth, will make proper allowances on such occasions, and by comparing these different accounts together, will endeavour to acquire a just notion of a thing, with which for many reasons surely, both we and posterity have a right to be acquainted. After taking all imaginable pains to this purpose, I venture to assert *M. Pointis* carried home upwards of twenty million of livres; I believe I should not err in saying twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling ^c. But there is no need of lessening the profits,

^a Bishop Burnet might possibly be deceived by the second accounts from France, which were all against *Pointis*; but, if he had enquired into what followed, and how much money was recovered when this business came to be narrowly sifted, he would have altered his opinion. The *French* do not suffer a few great officers to cheat their owners, and the public, by cooking up stories destitute of proof; their government is arbitrary, and therefore in cases like this, generally speaking, just.

^c My calculation goes upon undeniable principles. The *sieur Pointis* gave the *Buccaneers* 40,000 crowns, or 120,000 livres, for their share, computing at the rate of one tenth from the first million, and a thirtieth from every other million; and this, by a very easy algebraick process, makes it

profits, to abate the glory of this expedition. The *seur Pointis* certainly behaved very ill through the whole affair ; he disgusted the Buccaneers ; he treated M. *Ducasse* excessively ill during the whole siege ; he made an unfair distribution of the effects taken ; he took no sort of care of the sick and wounded, but left them in the hospitals, not only without medicines, but food ; and to compleat his blunders, he loitered till the twenty first of *May*, and did not embark his men till the sickly season came on, and they could scarce crawl to their ships. The Buccaneers were so irritated by the behaviour of *Pointis*, and his breaking the agreement he made with them to force upon them a dividend of 40,000 crowns, that, as soon as they saw him and his Squadron ready to sail, they returned back to *Carthagera*, in order, as they phrased it, to look for their share of the plunder, which they did not fail of finding*.

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the first information of the enemy's being sailed for *Carthagera*, which was on the fifteenth of *May*, had sailed thither instead of going to *Jamaica*, he had unquestionably surprized the *French* in the harbour of that place ; and, as the *Spaniards* had actually assembled an army to retake the city, it is not easy to guess how the *French* would have escaped, who were by that time split into factions among themselves, and at least one half of them fallen sick†. But though he missed them then, yet on

it clear he estimated the whole booty at 9,000,000. But when M. *Pointis*'s behaviour came to be scrutinized in France, they had a decree for 1,400,000 livres more. * *Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 157. The Buccaneers undoubtedly carried away 5,000,000 livres, though not above 1,500,000 came to St. Domingo. † *Burchet's naval history*, p. 553. See also the memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

on the twenty seventh of *May*, 1697, being half seas over from *Jamaica*, he saw the *Sieur de Pointis's* Squadron consisting of seven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no great distance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The *Warwick* indeed exchanged some shot with one of the *Frenchmen*, but in spite of all the sail she could make, the ship got away from her, as the rest did from the admiral. The *Warwick* perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the *French* fleet, and took her, having on board a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thousand pounds, and is a pretty good sample of what mighty treasures were on board the rest^u. Five days the vice-admiral continued the pursuit, in which five ships, amongst which his own and rear-admiral *Meeze's* were included, sprung their fore-top-masts, and their sails were so torn, that it was found impossible to continue the chase with any hopes of success^w. This again was a narrow escape; the *French* themselves own it, they were much inferior in force, they were ill manned, most of their ships were foul; and if they had fought, many of them must have been taken without doubt. I see no manner of cause to censure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occasion (as some have done) because it was beyond question his own and his officers interests, to have fought upon the presumption that their own superior force would have put them in possession of all the plunder the *French* had obtained. Besides, they all gave sufficient proofs afterwards, that fighting was what they did not desire to avoid.

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^u Mr. Lediard seems to question whether the author of the British empire in America, had not set down 200,000 for 20,000; but upon examination, I find 200,000 in the original accounts.

^w Burchet's memoirs, p. 361.

I am therefore satisfied as to this point, that there was nothing of treachery or neglect of duty in this business, but that *Pointis's* squadron escaped by a concurrence (with respect to us) of unlucky and unavoidable accidents; unless there might be some fault in those who furnished our sails, which did not wear so well as those of the *French*, for which however the sea-officers were not to blame *.

THE *Buccaneers*, on their return to *Garthagena*, met with no resistance, and therefore having driven the inhabitants into the great church, they told them how general *Pointis* had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though against their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promised to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor *Spaniards* did their utmost to rake together this sum, but it was all in vain. The *French* took what they brought, and as soon as they had done bringing, these miscreants had recourse to such cruelties, as are scarce credible, to force discoveries. After all, in the space of about five days, they amassed near 1,000,000 crowns in money, and more than as much in rich goods; after which they fell out amongst themselves as to the division of it, the *Buccaneers* refusing the inhabitants of *St. Domingo* an equal share, because, as they said, they were at great expence on that island before they sailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houses. This dispute, however, was soon adjusted on the arrival of a ship from *St. Martinico*, with advice, that a strong *English* squadron was in quest of them: they instantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with

* Mr. Burchet acknowledges this, and so it appears on the strictest inquiry; though this does not seem to have satisfied bishop Burnet.

with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to sea as soon as possible, and retire to St. Domingo y.

WHEN our Squadron found it impracticable to engage the *French*, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to *Carthagena*, in order to see if the galleons were safe, and how far he could be useful to the *Spaniards*. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty first of *May* and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were so much afraid of the *Buccaneers* returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor, and some of the principal inhabitants, to return, and then sailed, after sending a frigate to St. *Jago*, to inform the governor of the *Havanna*, and the general of the galleys, of what had passed, that they might the better provide for the safety of the galleons. On the sixth, he discovered eight sail of *Buccaneers*, close under the shore; upon which a detachment was sent to destroy them. The enemy crowded all the sail they could, in hopes of escaping, but only four were so luckily as to effect it. One was forced upon the *Spanish* coast, not far from *Carthagena*, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced on shore on St. *Domingo*, and beat to pieces. The *Christ*, a fine ship, commanded by captain *Cofuy*, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in silver, was taken by a *Dutch* ship, as was the *Flying Hart* of the same force and value, commanded by captain *Pierce*, by captain *Dilkes*, and her crew were brought into *England* &c.

THE

y Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 161.
Lediard, Columna Rostrata, &c.

* Burchet,

THE governor of *Jamaica* at that time was Sir *William Beefton*, who considering that the fleet must soon be obliged to return home, resolved to suggest the destruction of that nest of pirates, *Petit-Guavas*, to the vice-admiral, as the most important service, that as things were circumstanced, could be done to the *English* colonies in general, and *Jamaica* in particular. Vice admiral *Neville* instantly complied with it, and left the execution of the scheme to rear-admiral *Meeze*, who was detached from the fleet *June* 22, 1697, for this very purpose, with nine ships of war, great and small. On the twenty seventh he arrived at a small distance from *Petit-Guavas*, and debarked some of his forces, ordering the ships to come in next day. On the twenty ninth he surprized *Petit Guavas*, entering the place before it was light, and seizing the guard. He had, at first, thoughts of remaining there some short time; but the seamen, and at last through their example the landmen, began to plunder and drink so hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his sentiments, and resolved to burn it, there was not above fifty sober men under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with such precipitation, that notwithstanding there was abundance of gold and silver in the place, yet very little was saved, or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off prisoners a good number of negroes to *Jamaica*, was a great and seasonable service to the *English* colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not soon recover, to say the truth it was one of the greatest services done during the war.

VICH.

* Burchet's memoirs, p. 369, Kennet, life of king William, &c.

VICE-ADMIRAL *Neville* having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, failed to meet rear-admiral *Meux*, and then bringing away the homeward-bound ships from *Jamaica*, resolved to proceed to the *Havanna*, in order to preserve the galleons. He failed in the beginning of *July*, and coming about the middle of that month on the coast of *Cuba*, the seamen became excessively sickly, and rear-admiral *Meux* died before they reached the *Havanna*. On the twenty-second of the same month he arrived before that port, and sent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreshments. The governor sent him a civil message, but refused to admit his squadron, and did not even supply his wants, or at least not in all respects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpose to convoy that rich fleet home, which was the principal point in king *William's* instructions, yet far from being satisfied with these unusual acts of kindness to allies, he excused himself from putting his ships under our protection, supposing, or at least pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reason, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place of the greatest consequence in the *West-Indies*, and the richest fleet of that age; for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, since both had been in the vice-admiral's power, if he had once been admitted into the haven ^b.

THIS kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to save the galleons, and to serve the crown of *Spain* on every occasion, broke the vice-admiral's spirits very much.

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^b See the present State of Europe, for the month of September, 1697. Burnet, Kennet, &c.

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He had always counted upon escorting the galleons, and believed so acceptable a service would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being disappointed again, and reflecting on the little service that with so strong a squadron he had been able to do his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived at *Virginia* on the twenty-seventh of *August*, and then he died, as much of grief, as of his distemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a person of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country service, though his fortune fell short of his zeal^c. By his demise the command of the squadron devolved upon captain *Robert Dilkes*, who, from *Virginia*, arrived safely in *England* on the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1697, with the whole squadron, though poorly manned, and the ships many of them foul and rotten; so that notwithstanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the *West-Indies*, all came to nothing; for besides this, we met with other disappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no less mortifying than those we have mentioned.

THE sieur *Pointis* thought himself safe when he arrived off *Newfoundland*, as not having the least knowledge that we had a stout squadron there, under the command of the late sir *John* (then captain) *Norris*, so that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of *Conception*, and of lying there carelessly enough, though we had a force sufficient at *St. John's* to have given a good account of him, and his *Spanish* plunder. It was on the twenty-third of *July* our squadron had advice, that five *French* ships were seen in

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^c I have this character from some who knew him well, and who served under him in this very expedition.

Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. *Nesmond's* Squadron come to attack them; and therefore, instead of going to look for the enemy, they wisely considered how in case they fell upon St. *John's*, they should be best able to defend themselves, and bent all their endeavours that way.

CAPTAIN *Norris* was from the beginning a little suspicious that this was not the outward-bound *French* Squadron, and therefore sent the *Mary* galley, a clean tight ship, to discover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from one Mr. *Alexander Cumberbatch*, master of a ship taken by the *French* at sea, and put on shore in *Newfoundland*, in order to procure fresh provisions. In this letter there was a distinct account of M. *Pointis's* strength, and of his Squadron's having on board the rich plunder of *Carthage*. Captain *Norris* was ravished with this epistle, called a council of war immediately, and pressed that no farther time might be lost, but that without more ado they might sail in quest of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no such haste, they doubted whether *Cumberbatch's* letter might not be intended to draw them out of their strength, and thereby expose St. *John's*, and the whole country, to the *French*; and therefore, after a long debate, it was resolved, in the council of war, to remain where they were, and to expect the *French* in close quarters, without running unnecessary hazards.

ABOUT

a Burchet's memoirs, p. 375. • The reflections of bishop Burnet on this business, are very well worth notice. "Commodore Norris's Squadron, says he, might have fallen upon the French, and would probably have mastered them; but as they had no certain account of their strength, so, being
" sent

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ABOUT noon, on the twenty-sixth, they received advice, that the five *French* ships were seen the night before at anchor a little eastward of *Bell-Isle*, by *Portugal-Cove*, and the next day, upon a message from colonel *Gibson*, there was another consultation, where this intelligence was read; but it was resolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were sent to make a discovery. Soor one of them came with twenty-one *Frenchmen*, he had taken in a boat at *Carboniere*, who said they were sent by

“ sent out on another service, they did not think it proper to hazard the attacking them; so the French got safe home, and the conduct of our affairs at sea was much censured.”—In Burchet’s memoirs, p. 378. and in his history, the blame is thrown intirely on the land-officers, who out-voted the sea-officers in the council of war.—The whole is strangely skimmed over in our Gazette, No. 3319, as a thing not fit to be mentioned.

I have with some difficulty recovered the minutes of this famous council of war, and as I believe a list of the names of those who sat in it, and their votes, cannot but be agreeable to the reader, I shall transcribe them.

A council of war at St. John’s, July 24th, 1697, at which were present.

LAND-OFFICERS.

| | | |
|------------------|-------|-----|
| John Gibson | _____ | No. |
| Thomas Dore | _____ | No. |
| Thomas Handasyde | _____ | No. |
| Cliff. Brexton | _____ | No. |
| Griff. May | _____ | No. |
| Hugh Boyd | _____ | No. |
| Y. Smith | _____ | No. |
| Rob. Dazyell | _____ | No. |
| H. Petit | _____ | No. |
| George Watkins | _____ | No. |
| Jof. Hargrave. | _____ | No. |

ELEVEN. No’s all.

SEA.

by M. Pointis to procure fresh provisions. The other captain returned also from *Portugal-Gove*, who saw the *French* ships at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from sixty to seventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the prisoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwise they should be very ill treated. They said the squadron had not been at any other port since they left the *West-Indies*, and that hearing of an *English* squadron in those parts, they had appointed *Placentia*, in *Newfoundland*, for the place of rendezvous; but through the hazy-

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SEA-OFFICERS.

| | | |
|---------------------|-------|------|
| Francis Dove | _____ | Yea. |
| Robert Stapilton | _____ | Yea. |
| James Littleton | _____ | No. |
| Charles Desborow | _____ | Yea. |
| Cooper Wade | _____ | Yea. |
| John Roffey | _____ | No. |
| James Mighells | _____ | Yea. |
| Thomas Day | _____ | Yea. |
| John Cranby | _____ | Yea. |
| John Drake | _____ | No. |
| Nicholas Trevannion | _____ | No. |
| John Norris | _____ | Yea. |
| Thomas Smith | _____ | No. |

THIRTEEN. Yea's 8. No's 5.

This whole business was, in an ensuing session of parliament, examined in the house of lords; when upon a full view of the evidence, their lordships came to the following resolutions.

Die Lunæ, 17 April, 1699.

1. It is resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the squadron commanded by captain Norris, at St. John's, in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Pointis, upon the several intelligences given, was a very high miscarriage, to the great disservice of the king and kingdom.

2. It is resolved, that the joining the land-officers in the council of war, on the 24th of July, 1697, was one occasion of the miscarriage in not fighting Pointis,

ness of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in *Conception-bay*. But notwithstanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality *M. Pointis's* squadron, the council of war still over-ruled captain *Norris*, who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of *St. John's*, which they fortified with such industry, that when Mr. *Nesmond* arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other squadron had been first seen, the place was in so good a state of defence, that though the *French* squadron consisted of sixteen sail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were so well satisfied with the sight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without so much as firing a gun, and thereby left all *Newfoundland* in our possession, which was confirmed by the ensuing peace^f.

M. Pointis, however, though he got so happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him more trouble; for on the fourteenth of *August*, 1697, he fell in with a squadron commanded by captain *Harlow*, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a brisk dispute of two hours, the *French* made a signal for tacking, when one of their ships being disabled, escaped with much difficulty, and put the rest into some confusion. They bore away as fast as possible, and by ten at night the *English* squadron lost sight of them. The fifteenth being a clear day, the enemy was discovered by four in the morning at the distance of four leagues; upon which captain *Harlow* continued the chase till evening, but with very little advantage, our ships being fouler than theirs, though they

^f Burchet's memoirs, p. 381. Present state of Europe, for October, 1697. Life of king William; History of the last war.

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Of King WILLIAM III. 211

they were returned from so long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of *Brest*, having as happily and as strangely escaped variety of dangers as any Squadron that ever went to sea. It is not easy to account for M. *Pointis's* bearing down upon captain *Harlow's* Squadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the *English* ships, just come out of port, came to sail so much worse than the *French*. Some mystery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though in all probability something might be discovered to the lords of the *Admiralty*, which it was not proper should come abroad^b. Thus we have run through the history of what passed in the *West-Indies* during this war, and are now returned to the naval transactions in *Europe*, in the year 1697, where we shall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majesty going in the spring of the year to *Holland*, he was pleased to declare *Edward Ruffel*, Esq; then at the head of the *Admiralty*, one of the lords justices in his absence; and soon after it was known, that his majesty had

○ 2 created

^a M. *Pointis* confesses this in his memoirs. A Dutch gazetteer says pleasantly, ill luck put on leaden boots to pursue him. See captain *Harlow's* own account in the London gazette, No. 3317.

^b I ground what I advance in the text, on the following advertisement, which appeared first, Thursday, Sept. 23, 1697, London gazette, No. 3325.

"Admiralty office, Sept. 21. Whereas, the right hon. the lords commissioners of the admiralty, did receive a letter by the post, signed A. B. which contains several things relating to the late action of captain *Harlow*: these are to give notice, that if the person who writ the said letter, will apply himself to one of the secretaries of the admiralty, his name shall not be made known, without his own consent, and he shall likewise be rewarded, and preferred by their lordships."

"WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

created him baron of *Shingey*, viscount *Barfleur*, and earl of *Orford*. These honours seemed not only fit, but necessary, since his lordship, as bishop *Burnet* well observes, had the whole authority of high admiral, though not the title. His presence therefore being requisite at the board, sir *George Rooks* was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of *June*, to *Portsmouth*, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ships made a handsome figure enough in the list at the *Admiralty*, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worse victualled; so that if a *Dutch* squadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to sea. But by the latter end of the month, the admiral being joined by two squadrons which had been under the command of vice-admiral *Mitchel*, and rear-admiral *Benbow*, he found his strength increased to forty-four sail of the line, and therefore he put to sea for some time, but was obliged to return sooner than he intended, for want of provisions. In the month of *September* he detached vice-admiral *Mitchel* with a squadron to meet and sustain vice-admiral *Neville*, who was expected home with the galleons from the *West-Indies*; but before he reached the cape of *St. Vincent*, he had notice of the return of that squadron, and did not therefore think proper to continue any longer at sea. He was afterwards ordered out again in *October*, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen *Dutch East-India* ships, which had lost most of their anchors and cables, and must otherwise have been in great danger of perishing

ⁱ Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Pointer, Oldmixon, &c. ^k Burchet's memoirs, p. 392.

perishing themselves. Soon after he received the king's orders to bring over the *Czar* from *Holland*, which he did, and was so acceptable to that great prince, that, with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he staid in *England*, and had the honour also to command the squadron which escorted him on his return to *Holland*, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour towards that monarch was such as gave him entire satisfaction, so that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a second time into *Holland*, by taking notice of many points in naval discipline, in which he was instructed by admiral *Mitchel*¹.

REAR-ADMIRAL *Benbow* sailed from *Spithead* on the eleventh of *April*, 1697, with a squadron consisting of seven third rates, and two fire-ships^m, and instructions to protect the trade of this nation in every instance in his power, and to annoy the enemy. With this view he was stationed from ten to fourscore leagues from *Scilly*, but was

O 3 able

¹ Life of Peter the Great, p. 394. ^m London Gazette, No. 3279. Mr. Burchet says, April 10, but I prefer the authority of the Gazette, in which I find an article that deserves a place here, and therefore I shall transcribe it. " Newcastle, " April 10, Yesterday morning came to our bar, eight colliers " from London; one of them belonging to this town, Charles " Newton, master, laden with merchants goods, and carrying " twelve guns, was, in her voyage here, attacked by a French " privateer of fourteen guns, and four patteraroes; captain " Newton made a vigorous defence, and another of the " merchant-ships coming to his assistance, they boarded the said privateer, took her, and have brought her into this harbour: " of the French, twenty-three were killed in the fight, and the " rest, sixty-six in number, are brought ashore, several of " which are wounded, and the captain so dangerously, that " 'tis thought he will hardly recover. There was another " privateer in his company, who, seeing his companion come " off so ill, fell a-stern, and stood off to sea."

able to perform nothing remarkable during the best part of the month of *May*, though he was joined by five ships of war more, and therefore he returned to *St. Helen's* about the twenty-first of that month, from whence he sailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ships, for his former station; and after having seen two *East-India* ships pretty far out to sea, he received such intelligence as to our homeward-bound *Jamaica* ships, as induced him to repair to *Plymouth*; in doing which, he had the good fortune to join the *Virginia* and *West-India* fleets, and their particular convoys, off the *Lizard*; and soon after meeting vice-admiral *Mitchel* off the *Start*, he was by him directed to repair to *Plymouth*, with the merchant-ships, where he received orders from sir *George Rooke*, to repair to the fleet then passing westward, and to take care for sending eastward a convoy with the trade. But these orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the *Admiralty*, dated the tenth of *July*, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded to the squadron before *Dunkirk*, which captain *Beaumont* had commanded a considerable time before, consisting of six third rates, besides the *Newark*, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ships; but three of those third rates were ordered away to the *Downs* by the lords of the *Admiralty* ⁿ.

THE rear-admiral, as soon as he arrived with his squadron, went in person, with his boat, before the pier-heads of *Dunkirk*; where, though he discovered not one vessel in the road, yet he saw fifteen or sixteen sail of great ships within, one of which bore a flag. With captain *Beaumont* he found two orders from the lords of the *Admiralty*, the first directing him to pursue and burn *du Bart's* ships, wherever

ⁿ Burchet's naval history, p. 569, 570.

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wherever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in *Norway* or *Sweden*; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majesty, who was then in *Holland*. On the thirtieth of *July* rear-admiral *Vander-goes* joined him, with eleven *Dutch* ships, and it was proposed, that one of the squadrons should lie so as that *Dunkirk* might be south of them; and the other in or near *Ostend* road, that, if *du Bart* should attempt to pass out, either at the north or east channel, they might the better discover him: but no other answer was made by the *Dutch* flag, than that his ships were foul, and not in a condition to pursue him.

THE *French* ships at *Dunkirk* were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns; and about the beginning of *August* the, were all, except *M. du Bart's* own ship, hawled into the basin to clean, so that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next spring-tide. But since our ships, as well as the *Dutch*, were all foul, little service could be expected from their chasing; and it was almost next to an impossibility, to block up clean ships at *Dunkirk* with foul ones. Wherefore the rear-admiral proposed, that four of his best sailers might be ordered to *Sheerness* to clean, and that the others might come to the *Downs*, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and scrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching spring could afford the *French* an opportunity of getting over the bar. But at this time it was not thought adviseable, though afterwards he received orders to do it: so that for the present he only sent the ships from time to time to the *Downs* to water, as they could best be spared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our disappointments were fre-

quently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to such pieces of advice as the commanders of squadrons thought themselves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of *August*, *du Bart* left *Dunkirk* with five sail, having the prince of *Conti* on board, whom the *French* attempted to make king of *Poland*. The rear-admiral pursued him, but to no manner of purpose; and before he returned to his station, eight other ships were gone, which he pursued likewise, but with the same want of success: and this was the last action of the war, for on the tenth of *September* following, peace was concluded between *England*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, on the one side, and the crown of *France* on the other, at *Ryswick*, by which the *French* king acknowledged king *William's* title, and, as the *French* historians say, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of justice or moderation, but with views of quite another sort, as was foreseen then, and in the space of a few years appeared °.

WE have now brought this long war to a conclusion, and it is but just that we should offer the reader some reflections on the consequences of it, to the naval power and commerce of *England*. First then, with respect to our navy, we have seen that the war opened with a very bad prospect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vast number of able seamen, and, perhaps, as good officers as any in the world, yet the *French* got earlier to sea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with *Holland*, and according to the general rule of political reasoning ought

° Burchet, Burnet, Present State of Europe, Life of king William, Pointer's chronological history, &c.

ought to have had it in our power to have driven the *French* out of the sea. All this proceeded from the sudden change in our government, which, perhaps, left many of our officers disaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the administration and the commanders of our fleets, is always destructive to our maritime power, and therefore instead of wondering that things went so ill in the three first years of the war, we may with more justice be surprized, that they went no worse. Our party-divisions not only enervated our own strength, but created such jealousies between us and the *Dutch*, as blasted the fruits that must have been otherwise produced by this union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fullest proof in the case of the earl of *Torrington*, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to support, because they knew that preserving him must give distaste to our allies, and who, on the other hand, was prosecuted by many who believed him innocent P.

BUT when once the government was thoroughly settled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the *States*, it soon became evident, that we were much more than a match for *France* at sea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created enquiries and censures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for when officers

P The reader will easily discern the force of this argument, if he considers the share the earl of *Torrington* had in the revolution, and the warmth with which, on his prosecution, he was supported by those who were least pleased with that event. This shews the effects of party-spirit, upon national affairs; for though it might be right in them to espouse the earl of *Torrington*, who probably acted according to the best of his judgment, yet they did it apparently from wrong motives, and with no better intention, than to mortify and distress the court.

cers find themselves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to escape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit, to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our success in the middle of the war, and the declension of it afterwards, when the board of *Admiralty* began to feel its own strength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-system, by which such men were sure of protection, as could be depended on in other respects than their commands in the fleet.

BUT notwithstanding these, and some other miscarriages, no less prejudicial to the interest of the nation, yet, on the whole, the *French* suffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. *Burchet* has shewn us; and consequently, if we consider the situation of both nations, the ease with which it was in our power to repair our losses, and the almost insuperable difficulties the *French* had

² It may possibly be thought, that I differ in my sentiments here, from what I have said elsewhere, as to enquiries; and therefore I take this opportunity of saying, that I would be understood so as to distinguish between proper enquiries, and peevish enquiries. I call proper enquiries, such as begin with things, and end with men: and I take such to be peevish, as presume things to be wrong, because they were done by this or that set of men. In this reign, we had frequent examples of both: enquiries were set on foot in parliament, and when they did not answer the intentions of a party, they were dropt. This, certainly, was very scandalous. On the other hand, commodore Wilmot's disgraceful expedition, and several others of the same kind, were passed over without any enquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very suspicious dealing in the admiralty; who ought to have vindicated their own uprightness, by justifying the characters of such as they employed, which appears to be the judgment of bishop Burnet himself; who, though he loved the ministers, yet could not help seeing their faults.

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had to struggle with in this respect, we must conclude, that not only they, but the whole world, had full evidence from thence, of their being no way able to struggle against the *Dutch* and us in a maritime war. To make this still more apparent, I must observe, that king *William*, in his speech to both houses of parliament, at the conclusion of the war, asserted our naval force to be near double what it was at his accession*. Whereas, I do not find in any of the *French* historians, that they attempted to build new ships during the progress of the war, or to do any thing more than finish such as were then upon the stocks, purchasing, as occasion required, large merchant-men, which they converted into frigates. In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the *French* seemed to be very sensible, since they avoided all general engagements†, and in

* See his majesty's speech, Dec. 3, 1697, in Chandler's parliamentary debates. Upon carefully comparing the lists of the royal navy, this very clearly appears.

† An account of the loss sustained by the *French* in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

| No. of ships. | | Force. | Total of guns. |
|---------------|----|-----------|----------------|
| 2 | of | 104 guns, | 208 |
| 1 | of | 90 | 90 |
| 2 | of | 80 | 160 |
| 3 | of | 76 | 228 |
| 1 | of | 74 | 74 |
| 1 | of | 70 | 70 |
| 1 | of | 68 | 68 |
| 2 | of | 60 | 120 |
| 4 | of | 56 | 224 |
| 1 | of | 50 | 50 |
| 1 | of | 48 | 48 |
| 1 | of | 42 | 42 |
| 1 | of | 40 | 40 |
| <hr/> | | | <hr/> |
| 21 | | | 1422 |

Carried over

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in particular actions between small squadrons or single ships, the strictness of their discipline gave them great advantages, since their vessels, generally speaking, were much cleaner than ours, and consequently were able to leave us, whenever they found themselves too hard pressed; of which several instances have been given in the foregoing sheets. At the same time, however, it must be confessed, that the *French* fleets, generally speaking, behaved very well at sea, and that we suffered considerably even in those actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ships were taken by surprise, or beaten as convoys, by a superior force.

BUT

| | | | |
|-------------|----|----|-------------|
| Bt. over 21 | | | 1422 |
| 5 | of | 32 | 160 |
| 5 | of | 30 | 150 |
| 5 | of | 28 | 140 |
| 1 | of | 26 | 26 |
| 3 | of | 24 | 72 |
| 3 | of | 20 | 60 |
| 6 | of | 18 | 108 |
| 1 | of | 16 | 16 |
| 2 | of | 12 | 24 |
| 6 | of | 10 | 60 |
| 1 | of | 6 | 6 |
| Total 59 | | | Total 2,244 |

* The loss sustained by the English in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

| No. of ships. | Force. | Total of guns. |
|---------------|----------|----------------|
| 1 of | 70 guns. | 70 |
| 1 of | 54 | 54 |
| 2 of | 48 | 96 |
| 1 of | 46 | 46 |
| 3 of | 42 | 126 |
| 3 of | 35 | 108 |
| 6 of | 32 | 192 |
| 17 | | 692 |

Carried over

LET with respect to our trade, it is certain, that we suffered infinitely more, not only than the *French*, (for that must have been expected) but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great measure from the vigilance of the *French*, who, as we have already shewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpose to distress our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reason why our commerce suffered so much, was that spirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a sudden fortune by suffering their ships to run, instead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cause of our mis-carriages, was the want of proper attention at the board of *Admiralty*, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that spirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the sea-officers at this time, and which too

increased the loss of our ships and goods often

| | | | |
|-------------|----|----|-------------|
| Rt. over 17 | | | 692 |
| 2 | of | 30 | 60 |
| 4 | of | 24 | 96 |
| 2 | of | 18 | 36 |
| 2 | of | 16 | 32 |
| 2 | of | 12 | 24 |
| 11 | of | 10 | 110 |
| 5 | of | 8 | 40 |
| 1 | of | 6 | 6 |
| 4 | of | 4 | 16 |
| Total 50 | | | Total 1,112 |

The number of guns on board the *French* ships, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the *English*, were 1,132, and most of them much superior in their weight of metal.

often induced them to consider their commissions rather as powers given them to provide for themselves and their families, than as trusts received for the benefit of the public. We must not forget in this enumeration of the causes of our losses in this respect, the ill conduct of our governors abroad, who were likewise totally employed in amassing fortunes, while the strictness of the *French* discipline obliged such as had the care of their plantations, to pay a proper regard to the public service, to which alone was owing their preserving their settlements at *St. Domingo*, from whence they might have been driven with the greatest ease by the *English* and *Spaniards*, and yet were suffered to retain their settlements, though both nations were continually distressed by their invasions; and in respect to this, it is no less evident, that the *Spaniards* were not so much to blame as we are. But, after all, the principal source of these mischiefs, was the necessity both the *Dutch* and we were under of fitting out such great fleets every year, whereby all our seamen were in a manner employed in the publick service; so that, on the one hand, the merchants were forced to send their ships to sea worse manned than formerly, and on the other, our grand fleet and annual squadrons required so many ships, that it was impossible to furnish the necessary convoys for the security of our trade. At least, this was pretended; and the very pretence, perhaps,

* This appears plainly from the French history of that island, where it is owned, that a storm delivered them in the beginning of the year 1698, from a descent from Jamaica; and that the news of the peace of Ryswick came so opportunely, as to preserve them from being totally destroyed by the *Spaniards*, who had already passed the mountains, with a body of between five and six hundred men. *Histoire de S. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 177.

haps, was another cause of our losses. This, however, is out of doubt, that taking all together, our traffic suffered excessively, our merchants were many of them ruined; and though enquiries into the mismanagements, which heightened these misfortunes, were not prosecuted with that vigour they might have been, yet such discoveries were made, as produced an absolute distrust of, and distaste against, such as had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour against the war, and a universal desire of peace at any rate w.

AFTER this impartial representation of the state of our affairs at its conclusion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace so advantageous as that of *Ryswick* was, should give the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did do so, may appear from the government's causing a special gazette to be published, on purpose to make known the *French* king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at *Paris*, two days sooner than it would have otherwise been x; and by the numerous addresses of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, to felicitate his majesty upon that occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burthen and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the *French* struck medals,

x Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, Present State of Europe.

* The Gazettes came out in those days, on Mondays and Thursdays. This paper, said to be printed by authority, is dated, Whitehall, October 26, which was Tuesday. It is printed but on one side, and the *French* king's proclamation is in italick, in order to render it the more remarkable. The same thing had been done on the exchange of the ratifications, October 18, 1697: But that was in the nature of a post-gazette.

dals, magnifying their success in the war, and their demonstrating themselves thereby a match for all the rest of *Europe*; since if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was so much greater that they should stoop to such a peace ^y. But though it may be true, that in many respects the *French* had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them; and as their weakness increased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of *France*, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

It must therefore be allowed to the honour of this reign, and of this administration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace; all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the *French* king engages his word and faith, not to disturb the king of *Great Britain* in any of his dominions, nor to assist directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the said king, nor to give shelter to any rebels or conspirators against him. By the fifth, the free use of commerce or navigation is restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh, all places taken during the war, either in *Europe* or in *America*, are restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which with any shew of justice they could desire; so that by the conclusion of this treaty, the general peace of *Europe* was restored ², and

^y Histoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. Histoire militaire, &c.
² Amongst other medals, struck on the occasion of this peace, there

we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiss in our domestic oeconomy, extending our commerce, and easing our people. How far these points were studied, or neglected, shall be our business to examine in the next chapter.

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CHAP.

there was one very remarkable. On the face of the medal was represented a temple, the doors of which are shut by the plenipotentiaries. Before the temple there is an altar, on which a sow is offered. The legend, *Cæsar firmabant fœdera porca*, alluding to the custom of the Romans, who, on the conclusion of a peace, sacrificed a swine. On the door of the temple stands, *Jano sacrum*, i. e. sacred to Janus. On the reverse, are the arms of the several powers comprehended in the treaty; and in the centre, the royal castle of Ryswick, with this inscription, *Ryswick, Gulielmi III. Dei Gratia Magnæ Britannæ Regis Palatium*, i. e. The palace of William III. by the grace of God, king of Great Britain.

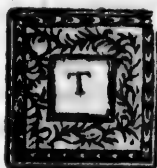


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CHAP. II.

The naval history of GREAT BRITAIN continued throughout the remaining part of the reign of king WILLIAM III. with an account of the most remarkable transactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, and the memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished within this period of time.



THE affair of the *East-India* company in *Scotland* has been mentioned in the former chapter ; but I did not insist upon it then, because it would have interrupted the thread of our history, and because I apprehended it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this distance of time, a very delicate subject, especially for one who professes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatsoever. But the pleasure which results from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a sufficient compensation for any risque that a writer can run by his impartiality ; and therefore I shall lay the true state of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me. The revolution brought back to *Scotland* several worthy patriots, whom the jealousy of former reigns had driven into *Holland*, *Germany*, and other countries. These, from the time of their return, thought of nothing so much as the putting the trade of *Scotland*, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that

that is, of the parliament of *Scotland*, for the encouragement of foreign commerce; and in consequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for setting up an *East-India* company. When this was done, it was found requisite to take in subscriptions; and, as it was not easy to find money enough in *Scotland*, for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at *London*, *Hamburg*, and *Amsterdam*, in which they were certainly sufficiently supported both by the royal and legislative authority. But as the carrying this scheme into execution gave great umbrage to the *East-India* companies in *England* and *Holland*, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the best measures they could to hinder the success of these applications. This, however, had some very untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means his majesty's name, as king of *England*, and *Stattholder* of *Holland*, came to be made use of, to thwart those designs which actually had his sanction as king of *Scotland*. This, as might have been easily foreseen, embarrassed king *William* prodigiously; for it forced him to act in a manner little suitable to his inclinations, since on an application of the *Scots*, he was obliged to promise that he would not countenance any such attempts to their prejudice; and to gratify the *English* and *Dutch*, he found himself obliged to part with two very useful and able ministers, the marquis of *Tweeddale* and secretary *Johnson*, because the former had given the royal assent to the law which established the *Scotch East-India* company, in which, however, he had only followed his instructions; and the latter for promoting that design, which, no doubt, he took to be, what

it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet these steps served only to palliate things for the present, and instead of healing the breach, widened it, as will be seen hereafter ^a.

IN the ensuing session of parliament in 1698, the government found itself not a little embarrassed with the affairs of the *English East-India* company. A scheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public service at eight *per Cent.* and were to carry on this trade by a joint stock. To make way for this, it was proposed to dissolve the old company, though they had very lately a new charter granted them upon an address from the house of commons, and in virtue of that charter, had encreased their capital by a subscription of so considerable a sum as seven hundred thousand pounds. The pretence for dissolving it, was a clause in that very charter, reserving such a power to the crown. But as it was not so much as asserted, that since the granting this new charter, they had done any thing which ought to subject them to a dissolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of stock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard. The real cause why this step for erecting a new company was taken, as bishop *Burnet*, and other intelligent writers fairly own, was the public's wanting and having no way so ready to get money. However, the dissolving scheme, notwithstanding it was

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^a Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, and other histories of those times. I have been extremely careful here, to lay aside all sorts of prejudices, and to present the reader, in as few words as possible, with a genuine representation of things, as they really fell out, stript of those colourings, which party-writers, and partial historians have bestowed upon them.

powerfully supported, did not take place; the new company had large privileges given them; and sir *William Norris* was sent by his majesty ambassador to the great *Mogul*, on purpose to promote this scheme; which, notwithstanding, miscarried in respect of trade: for the old company, being possessed of the forts and factories in the *East-Indies*, took care to prepossess that monarch, and indeed all the other princes in those parts, so strongly against the new company, that the ambassador was but very indifferently received, and the whole affair, instead of improving our commerce, tended only to hurt both it and the credit of the nation in those parts, at the same time that (as I have observed) the act for establishing this new company, created very great discontents at home^b.

The managers of the *East-India* company in Scotland, finding their designs for carrying on that trade so vigorously opposed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers vested in them by the late act of parliament, resolved to turn their endeavours another way for the present, and to attempt the settlement of a colony in *America*, on the *Isthmus of Darien*. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country which unites the two great continents of north and south-*America*, and that consequently it must be very advantageously seated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the *Spaniards*, and as the new colony sent thither actually

P 3 purchased

^b Bishop Burnet, in his history of his own times, has treated this matter very fairly, and, as far as I can judge, set this matter in a true light. It is a great misfortune, that we have not any HISTORY of public companies, which would be both a useful and entertaining work. What I have offered is very succinct, as the nature of this history obliged me to make it. To give the reader an accurate account of this business, would take up some sheets, and indeed the business deserves it.

purchased their lands from the native proprietors, and settled there by consent, it was apprehended that the *Spaniards* had no right to dispute this establishment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themselves without involving the nation in a war. The colony was accordingly settled at a vast expence; but it was soon found, that great mistakes had been made in relation to the consequences expected from it. For the *Spaniards* not only considered it as an invasion on their rights, and began to take our ships upon it; but the *English* also grew very uneasy, and made warm representations to his majesty on this subject, which produced private orders to the governors of *Jamaica*, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*, but even to deny them provisions. As it was foreseen that these measures would naturally occasion great disturbances in that part of the world, it was found requisite to send a squadron thither to protect our trade, to awe the *Spaniards*, and to hinder the encrease of pirates, which had been very great ever since the conclusion of the peace, occasioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long used to live by plunder, had not either the will nor the means to procure a subsistence for themselves by any honest employment. There were also some other reasons which made the sending such a naval force requisite, as will appear in the subsequent account of its proceedings &c.

REAR-ADMIRAL *Benbow* was made choice of to command

^c Kennet, Burnet, State-tracts in the time of king William, and particularly a little treatise, entitled, An enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony of *Darien*, 8vo. 1700, which is not printed in the folio collection of tracts before-mentioned.

command this squadron, which consisted of three fourth rates, and a small *French* prize. He sailed from *Portsmouth* on the twenty-ninth of *November*, 1698, and arrived at *Barbadoes* the twenty-seventh of *February* following. He executed there, and at the *Leeward-Islands*, what he was directed by his instructions to do; and being informed, that the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena* had seized two of our ships, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating against the *Scots* at *Darien*, he, like a brave and public-spirited commander, as he really was, resolved to prevent it, and restore these ships to their right owners. With this view he stood over to the *Spanish* coast, and coming before *Boca Chica* castle, he sent his men on shore for wood and water, which though he asked with great civility of the *Spanish* governor, he would scarce permit him to take^d. This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon sent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a message, importing, that he not only wanted these necessaries, but that he came likewise for two *English* ships that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there some time, which, if not sent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The governor answered him in very respectful terms, that if he would leave his present station, in which he seemed to block up their port, the ships should be sent out to him. With this request the admiral,

P 4

without

^d London Gazette, No. 3450. Most people thought this squadron too small, too weakly manned, and sent too late in the year; and many reflections to this purpose were thrown out in pamphlets to disturb the minds of the people, and alienate the affections of the seamen. But rear-admiral Benbow's conduct was so irreproachable, and, though he was a down-right sailor, his manner of acting was so engaging, that he not only performed more than was expected, but returned with ample commendations from all our colonies.

without the least hesitation, complied; but finding the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country-distemper, which doubtless the *Spanish* governor foresaw, he sent him another message, that if in twenty-four hours the ships were not sent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of seeing what respect an *English* officer had to his word. The *Spaniard*, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but sent out the ships within the time; with which the admiral returned to *Jamaica*, where he was received with much kindness and respect.

THERE he received an account, that the *Spaniards* at *Porto-Bello* had seized several of our ships employed in the slave-trade, on the old pretence, that the settlement at *Darien* was a breach of the peace. At the desire of the parties concerned the admiral sailed thither also, and demanded these ships; but received a surly answer from the admiral of the *Barlovento* fleet, who happened to be then at *Porto-Bello*. Rear-admiral *Benbow* expostulated with him on this head, insisting, that, as the subjects of the crown of *England* had never injured those of his *Catholic* majesty, he ought not to make prize of their ships for injuries done by another nation. The *Spaniard* replied shrewdly, that, since both the crowns were placed on the same head, it was no wonder he mistook the subjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the *Spaniards* saw that the colony at *Darien* received no assistance from *Jamaica*, the ships were with much to do restored. The admiral, in the mean time, sailed in quest of one *Kidd*, a pirate, who had done

a great

a great deal of mischief in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and of whom we shall have hereafter occasion to speak more largely. On his return to *Jamaica*, towards the latter end of the year, he received a supply of provisions from *England*, and soon after orders to return home; which he did with six men of war, taking *New-England* in his way.

WHILE rear-admiral *Benbow* was thus employed, vice-admiral *Aylmer* was sent with a strong squadron into the *Mediterranean*, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with such magnificence, and treated the deputies sent on board him in a manner so well suited to their tempers, that they were easily drawn to do those things for him, which an officer of another disposition would never have obtained. It was intended too that he should have secured the galleons, in case the *French* attempted to seize them on the death of the king of *Spain*, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though nobody pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this respect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of *Admiralty*, for not fitting out this fleet sooner. This, among many other things, made up part of the charge brought against the management of the navy by the house of commons, in their address

^f Burchet, Kennet, Life of king William, Present state of Europe, &c.

^s London Gazette, No. 3427. This fleet sailed from Portsmouth, Sept. 13. 1698. But Mr. Burchet's account is so indistinct, that Mr. Lediard, in transcribing it, thought this fleet was fitted out in 1700, and under that year, has placed it in his naval history, p. 779. I am the more surprized at this, because he takes notice of the commons address in 1699, which actually took rise from an inquiry into the late fitting out of this squadron.

dress to the king, presented in the month of *April*, 1699 ;
 wherein, after taking notice of the late sending of this fleet,
 they add, " That the victualling any of his majesty's
 " ships by others than by the victuallers appointed for that
 " service, or their agents, was contrary to the course of
 " the navy, and might be of ill consequence. That many,
 " and new unnecessary charges had, in an extraordinary
 " manner, been introduced into the navy, which was a
 " great mismanagement. That the deductions of poun-
 " dage, taken by the pay-masters of the navy, for stop-
 " cloths, dead-men's wages, tobacco, chest at *Chatham*,
 " chaplain, and surgeon, was without warrant, and ought
 " to be accounted for. That it was inconsistent with the
 " service of the navy, for the same person to be one of the
 " commissioners for executing the office of lord high admi-
 " ral and treasurer of the navy at the same time. And
 " that the passing of any account of monies impressed for
 " the contingent uses of the navy, without regular vouch-
 " ers, or such other proofs as the nature of the service would
 " admit, either with or without a sign manual, was con-
 " trary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dan-
 " gerous consequence. All which they begged leave to
 " lay before his majesty, desiring that he would be graci-
 " ously pleased to take effectual care, that the mismanage-
 " ments herein complained of, might be prevented for
 " the future." The king gave a soft answer, which yet
 was satisfactory enough to this charge. It ran in these
 words : " Gentlemen, I will consider of your address. It
 " is my desire, that all sorts of mismanagements and irre-
 " gularities should be prevented or redressed. You may be
 " assured that I will take the best care I can in relation to
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"the navy, the right management whereof is of great concern to the kingdom ^b."

THE earl of *Orford*, who was at this time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty absolutely, on a supposition, that bringing over to the court a body of men, who had been formerly looked upon as stubborn malcontents, would justify every measure that he should think necessary for so salutary a purpose, saw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently resolved to abate the edge of their resentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly, and thereupon a new commission of *Admiralty* passed, in which the earl of *Bridgewater*, the lord *Haverham*, sir *Robert Rich*, sir *George Rooke*, and sir *David Mitchel*, were constituted commissioners. And thus things were twisted about, rather as the interest and influences of parties required, than as was fittest for the public service, which, though always pretended in speeches and addresses, yet this was so visibly a cloak for the pernicious designs of party, that we may safely assert, *private interest* was never more considered than at this time, when nothing was so much talked of as *public spirit* ⁱ, may we live to see things conducted with more sincerity!

WE are now come to a necessary part of this history, which will appear one of the strongest instances of the truth

^b Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 102. ⁱ The earl of Orford was afterwards impeached, as we shall have occasion to shew: but there was never any proof offered on that impeachment; and to be sure his lordship's faults were in his ministerial character, and not as a commander. He was very sincere and serviceable to his party, at the head of the admiralty board; but at sea he forgot all distinctions, and had regard to nothing but merit.

truth of the foregoing observation; I mean the affair of *Kidd*, the pirate, which by an unaccountable strain of party-resentment, makes a considerable figure in our general histories, and belongs, in a particular manner, to this; for which reason I shall treat it circumstantially, and exactly agreeable to truth. There had been, for many years, loud and very just complaints of piracies in the *West-Indies*, which, for the sake of the profit made by purchasing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of several of our plantations. This induced king *William*, in the year 1695, to declare the earl of *Bellamont*, a nobleman of *Ireland*, and a person of very great worth and honour, governor of *New-York* and of *New-England*, believing him to be a proper person to restrain such mischiefs, and in time to put an end to the complaints made about them. After he was raised to this station, and before he set out for his government, he began to enquire, as to the most proper methods, for extinguishing these abuses, and represented it to one colonel *Levingston*, a gentleman of considerable property in *New-York*, as a thing which nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordship, one captain *William Kidd*, who was lately arrived from *New-York*, in a sloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew most of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed against them with great probability of success. The earl readily approved the scheme, and knowing how much the king had the business at heart, mentioned it to his majesty, who applauded the design, and recommended it to the board of *Admiralty*. But the public affairs being then in a perplexed situation, and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they

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they signified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aside ^k.

COLONEL *Levingston* having exact information of all that had passed, applied himself a second time to the earl of *Bellamont*, and offered an amendment to his first project. He observed, that this was a thing which would admit of no delay; and, since the public could not immediately bear the expence, or consequently undertake the intended expedition, it might not be amiss if some few persons of distinction should venture on carrying it into execution at their own expence. This too was attended with much difficulty; but at last it was agreed, that the lord chancellor, (then lord *Somers*) the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the earl of *Romney*, the earl of *Orford*, and some other persons, together with colonel *Levingston* and *Kidd*, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole undertaking, should raise six thousand pounds for the expence of the voyage. The king was so well pleased with the thing, and thought it of so great consequence, as well as of so much benefit, to the public, that he likewise promised to contribute, and therefore a tenth part of the goods taken from pirates was reserved to his majesty, in the grant made of the rest to the

^k Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Oldmixon, have both insisted pretty largely on this matter. As to the former, he did not certainly understand it, for he actually took the grant of pirates goods to be illegal and unjustifiable, and seems to intimate some hastiness or imprudence in this business; whereas nothing can be clearer than that public spirit was the sole motive to this design, and that *Kidd's* owners became so, because he could not be fitted out otherwise. As to the latter, though very prolix, yet his account wants in a great measure the light of evidence, which arises very fully from an impartial stating of the matters of fact, and therefore I have dwelt so long upon it. ^l See an impartial account of the affair of captain *Kidd*, 4to.

the persons engaged in fitting out *Kidd*. But, when the business was brought to bear, the king could not advance the money conveniently, and so the persons above-mentioned were obliged to be at the whole expence. Captain *Kidd* had a commission in the common form, to take and seize pirates, and bring them to justice, without any special clause or proviso, whatever. He knew none of the adventurers but the lord *Bellamont*, who introduced him to the earl of *Orford*, and another person carried him to the earl of *Romney*. As for the rest, he never saw them; and so little was there of secrecy or management in this business, that he had no instructions, either public or private; only the earl of *Bellamont* gave him sailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commission ^m.

THUS furnished, captain *William Kidd* sailed in the *Adventure-galley*, towards the end of the year 1695, for *New-York*, and in his way took a *French* prize. From thence he sailed to *Madeira*, thence to *Bonavista* and *St. Jago*, from whence he proceeded to *Madagascar*, and from thence he cruized at the entrance of the *Red Sea*; but effecting nothing, he sailed to *Calicut*, and took a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; the master, and three or four of the crew, were *Dutchmen*, the rest *Moors*: This ship he carried to *Madagascar*; from thence he sailed again, and about five weeks after took the *Quedah-Merchant*, of four hundred tons: the master was one *Wright*, an *Englishman*. She had on board two *Dutch* mates, and a *French* gunner; the crew were *Moors*, in all about ninety

^m This plainly shews, there was nothing secret or mysterious in this expedition; but that he was sent on the design expressed in the king's commission, and on that only.

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ninety persons.^a The ship he carries to *St. Mary's*, near *Madagascar*, and there he shared the goods with his crew, taking forty shares to his own use. Here ninety of his crew, who were a hundred and fifty-one in all, left him, and went on board the *Mocha-Merchant*, an *East-India* company ship, which had turned pirate; and there was every grain as much reason to charge that company with the piracies the *Mocha-Merchant's* crew committed, as there was to charge *Kidd's* adventures with his. He and his men burnt his own ship the *Adventure-galley* at *St. Mary's*, and they all went on board the *Quedah-Merchant*, and sailed for the *West-Indies*. Being denied succour at *Anguilla* and *St. Thomas's*, he sailed to *Mona*, lying between *Porto-Rico* and *Hispaniola*, and there, by the means of one *Bolton*, got some provisions from *Curacoas*. He bought a sloop of *Bolton*, in which he loaded part of his goods, and left the *Quedah-Merchant*, with the rest of the goods, in trust with *Bolton*, and seventeen or eighteen men in her. In this sloop he touched at several places, and disposed of a great part of his goods, and at last came to *Boston* in *New-England*, where the earl of *Bellamont* seized him, and what goods he had left; for this fellow either had, or pretended to have, a notion, that the *Quedah-Merchant* being manned by *Moors*, was a lawful prize, though there was no proof that the commander of her, and his crew, had committed any piracies on the *English*, or any other *European*, or indeed *Indian* nation. As soon as this was done, his lordship sent advice of his taking *Kidd*, to *England*, and desired that a ship might be sent to bring him home. This was accordingly complied with; but the

Rochester,

^a This is taken from his trial, and other authentic accounts of him.

Rocheſter, which was the ſhip employed in this ſervice, being diſabled, was forced to return, which heightened the clamour that had been already raiſed about this tranſaction, and which was outrageous in the very ſame proportion it was groundleſs.

THE ſource of this clamour was undoubtedly a private pique to particular perſons; which induced ſome warm men to put a queſtion in the houſe of commons, *That the letters patent granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates goods, were diſhonourable to the king, againſt the law of nations, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, an invasion of property, and deſtructive to commerce.* This was carried in the negative; but it did not hinder thoſe who ſupported the queſtion, from charging lord Somers and the earl of Orford with countenancing pirates; and, to give ſome colour to this groundleſs and moſt improbable charge, as ſoon as it was known that the *Rocheſter* was returned, it was ſuggeſted, that the ſending that ſhip was mere colluſion; that the earl of Bellamont was as deep in this affair as the reſt, and upon this a motion was made, and carried in the houſe of commons, for an *addreſs* to his majeſty, that *Kidd* might not be tried till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and that the earl of Bellamont might be directed to ſend home all examinations, and other papers relating to this buſineſs; which the king promiſed very readily.

THIS affair muſt naturally give his majeſty, and indeed the whole world, a ſtrange opinion of the patriotiſm of thoſe times. He knew the whole matter better than

any

* The noiſe made about this fellow, diſturbed the government ſo much, that it was one reaſon for ſending rear-admiral Benbow to the Weſt-Indies. p Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, &c.

any body, and was pleased to say, with great truth and justice, that if he might be admitted as a witness, he could vindicate, from his own knowledge, the noble persons now attacked, in all they had done. He must, therefore, be thoroughly persuaded that this was a very unjust and iniquitous prosecution, in relation to which he had reason to think himself happy, that he was not able to perform his promise of contributing towards this design, since that might have given a handle to some warm member for calling him *pirate*, as Mr. *Howe* actually called him a *felon*, for making the treaty of partition, to which we shall speedily come.

BUT how clear soever the king, and other impartial judges, might be, this spirit was still so prevalent in the house of commons, that even after making some enquiries into this fact, and having not only his examination, but *Kidd* himself in their power, whom they ordered to be brought to their bar, and questioned him there (very little to their credit, or to the purpose) yet when they afterwards found an opportunity of attacking the earl of *Orford* and lord *Somers* by impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their encouragement of *Kidd* as part of the charge. In the articles against the earl of *Orford*, they make the *fifth* and *sixth*, which for the satisfaction of the

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Q

reader

⁹ It was pretended that *Kidd* would make discoveries, and upon this he was sent for to the bar of the house of commons, where he behaved very meanly; and sir Edward Seymour, who sent for him, said, the fellow was not more a knave than a fool. But the true intent of bringing him thither, was, to set up another discovery, viz. That before he returned to Newgate, he went to the house of the earl of Halifax, and conferred there with the lords who were said to be concerned with him; but of this, the proof was as weak as the story incredible.

reader I shall insert, to shew with how great solemnity the most trifling affair may be made to appear.

“ V. AND whereas complaints were made to the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of *England*, where the said earl at that time presided, by the company trading to the *East-Indies*, of divers piracies committed in the *South-Seas*, to the destruction of their trade; desiring they might have letters of marque granted to them, whereby to be empowered, though at their own charge, to suppress such piracies: but the said earl preferring his own interest, discouraged and rejected their request and proposal, and in some short time after, jointly with others, did procure a commission for one *William Kidd*; as likewise a grant under the great seal of *England*, to and for the use of him the said earl and others, of the ships and goods of certain persons therein named, and also of all the goods found on board the said ships. And the said company having intimation of a commission granted to the said *Kidd*, being apprehensive of the ill consequences of the same, did apply themselves to the said board of *Admiralty*, desiring to know what powers and instructions were given: but such their reasonable request was denied, and *Kidd*, who was known to be a person of ill fame and reputation, ordered to pursue the intended voyage, in which he did commit divers piracies and depredations on the high seas, being thereto encouraged through the hopes of being protected by the high station and interest of the said earl, in violation of the laws of nations, and the interruption and discouragement of the trade in *England*.”

“ VI. THAT the said earl, within the time aforesaid, when an horrid conspiracy was discovered against his
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“ majesty’s sacred person, and the kingdom was under an
 “ apprehension of an immediate invasion from *France*, and
 “ divers ships of war, particularly the ship *Dutchess*, were
 “ armed out, and equipp’d and manned in defence of the
 “ realm, to oppose the intended invasion, did his utmost
 “ endeavour to prejudice his office, being the first com-
 “ missioner for executing the office of lord high admiral of
 “ *England*, without the privity of the other commissioners,
 “ contrary to his oath and duty, and preferring his hopes
 “ of gain to himself, to the safety of the public, did order
 “ captain *Steward*, commander of the ship *Dutchess*, to
 “ deliver over, and put on board, the said *Kidd*, mention-
 “ ed in the foregoing article, out of the said ship the
 “ *Dutchess*, a great number of able seamen, levied and
 “ provided at the expence of the public, and then discharg-
 “ ing their duty in defence of their country, and against
 “ their own consent, to the prejudice of the public secu-
 “ rity, and to the endangering the said ship the *Dutchess*,
 “ if it had been attacked by the enemy.”

THE earl of *Orford*’s answer will sufficiently declare,
 how little foundation there was in fact for what the com-
 mons advanced; and therefore I shall give what he offers,
 as to these two articles, in his own words. “ As to the
 “ fifth article, *says his lordship*, the *East-India* company,
 “ about the beginning of *March*, 1696, did apply to the
 “ *Admiralty* board, of which the said earl was one, to
 “ empower their ships and officers to seize and take all pi-
 “ rates infesting the seas, within the limits of their char-
 “ ter; and likewise to erect a court of *Admiralty* in those
 “ parts, to try and condemn such pirates as they should

Q 2 take,

See the articles of impeachment against Edward earl of *Orford*, printed by order of the house of commons in 1701.

" take. Upon which application, the board of *Admi-*
 " *rality* did take advice, and were informed, they had no
 " authority to grant the same, and denies he, the said
 " earl, ever discouraged or rejected the company's request
 " therein, unless it were by telling them, that the *Admi-*
 " *rality*, by law, could not grant the same; and denies that
 " the company was ever denied letters of marque in com-
 " mon form, to the knowledge of the said earl. And
 " saith, as to the matter of *Kidd*, in this article men-
 " tioned, he was gone upon his expedition about twelve months
 " before that time; and as to his commission, and the grant
 " in the said article mentioned, the said earl humbly
 " conceives, and is advised, the same were not contrary
 " to law; but sure he is, the said expedition was intended
 " for the public good and service; and saith, the said *Kidd*
 " had no powers or instructions from the board of *Admi-*
 " *rality*, other than the ordinary and common letters of
 " marque, the contents whereof are common and well
 " known to merchants; and the said earl doth deny that
 " he knew the said *Kidd* to be of ill fame and reputation.
 " But in case the said *Kidd* had committed any piracies,
 " he, the said *Kidd*, is answerable, and ought to answer
 " for the same, he never being ordered by the said earl so
 " to do, nor had he ever any the least encouragement
 " given him by the said earl, or any other, to his know-
 " ledge, to expect or hope for any protection therein, or
 " in any illegal action done or committed by him."

BUT his lordship's answer to the latter article is still
 stronger.

* See these answers in the same collection. They are very
 indifferently abridged by most of our historians; as in truth
 they must be, since by abridging them, some facts must neces-
 sarily be left out.

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stronger. In that he says, " He believes it to be true,
" that there was a horrid and barbarous plot and conspi-
" racy against his majesty's sacred person, and that there
" was an apprehension of an immediate invasion. But
" the said earl hopes, no neglect of duty in his station can
" be imputed to him to prevent the same. And as for
" the ship *Dutchess*, which was amongst many others
" armed and equipped in defence of the realm, the said earl
" saith, that the men in the said article mentioned to be
" taken from on board her, were but some of the very
" persons that were just before taken from on board cap-
" tain *Kidd*, and returned by their own consent on board
" captain *Kidd* again, not being above twenty in num-
" ber; and saith, all fears of the invasion were then over,
" and at an end; and denies that the same was intended
" to weaken, or did weaken, the said ship, or the navy
" royal; or that the said seamen, so returning on board
" the said *Kidd*, were levied or provided at the expence
" of the public, or did return or were put on board the
" said *Kidd*, against their own consent, or to the prejudice
" of the public security, or that the ship *Dutchess* was
" thereby endangered, if she had been attacked, as in the
" said article is alledged."

THESE articles were agreed to by the house of com-
mons, on the eighth of *May*, 1701, the very day that *Kidd*
was brought upon his trial for piracy at the *Old-Baily*,
where he was convicted, with many of his companions,
and soon after executed; but could never be prevailed
upon, as weak and as bad a man as he was, to charge any
of the noble persons, who were his owners, with having
any thing to do with his proceedings. Yet even after his
death, the commons, in an impeachment by them prefer-

red against *John lord Somers*, charge him as lord-keeper of the great seal of *England*, in conjunction with the earl of *Orford*, first commissioner of the *Admiralty*, and *Richard* earl of *Bellamont*, governor of *New-York* and of *New-England*, and others then in great stations and in high power and authority, for sealing a commission to one *William Kidd*, a person of evil fame and reputation, since convicted of piracy, and with procuring a grant of pirate's goods to be taken by the said *William Kidd*, under colour of the said commission, in trust for himself and other persons, with abundance more to the same purpose, intended purely to hurt that lord's character, and render it impossible for his majesty to employ him longer in his service; though his lordship, conscious of his own innocence, took every measure possible, to have this matter brought to a fair, open, and speedy trial. But while things were thus carried on at home, the nation suffered exceedingly for want of due care being taken to put an end to those depredations committed by pirates abroad, and therefore several experienced officers were sent to *Madagascar*, where they had made a very strong settlement, in order to root out and destroy them; but with so little success, that the government began at last to despair of effecting any thing in this way, till Mr. secretary *Burchet* devised a project, which answered the end very speedily. This was sending a proclamation by captain *James Littleton*, who was afterwards a flag-officer, and commissioner of the navy, promising pardon to all the pirates who surrendered, and a reward in case they would secure and deliver up any of their commanders. This soon brought

* This affair went off by the lords appointing a day for the trial of the peers, and the commons refusing to be present at that trial, or to make any propos.

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brought in many of the private men, and made the rest, especially their chiefs, so jealous of each other, that they could not hold together, or venture upon any new enterprizes. So that captain *Littleton* having brought off some, and separated the rest, very soon destroyed such as were most refractory, and re-established that free navigation which had been so long interrupted in those parts^u. I know that this will seem to some a very trivial affair to be so long insisted on; but as it shews the spirit of those times, and accounts for a very famous prosecution, I hope the majority of those who pursue this work, will not think it impertinent, especially as it has some connection throughout with the subject of this book.

BUT we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had arisen between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without interesting the maritime powers. It will be necessary to say something as to the grounds of this war, because the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the *English* nation, and ought to establish it as a maxim, that whenever it is really necessary to assist our allies, we ought to do it vigorously, and at once; which is the way not only to serve them, but to save a very considerable expence to us. There was, towards the close of the year 1699, a private treaty made by several princes for attacking the king of *Sweden*, afterwards the famous *Charles* the twelfth, but then a perfect lad, and even for dismembering the *Swedish* monarchy. According to this scheme, the king of *Denmark* was to invade *Holstein*, the elector of *Brandenburg* was to fall into the

Q 4

Swedish

^u Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, &c.

Swedish Pomerania, the king of *Poland* was to attack *Livonia*, and in case the dukes of *Zell* and *Hanover* moved to the assistance of the *Swedes*, the *Landgrave of Hesse*, and the duke of *Wolfenbuttel*, were to fall upon them. This was an alliance founded entirely upon interest, for the *Swedes* had done nothing to deserve this treatment, and therefore upon the first breaking out of this confederacy, his *Swedish* majesty addressed himself to king *William* and the *States General*, as guaranties of the treaties made for securing the tranquility of the north, by preserving there a proper balance of power. At first it was thought requisite to interpose only our good offices. But when the king of *Denmark* over-ran *Holstein*, and the king of *Poland* first attempted to surprize and then besieged *Riga* in *Livonia*, it became necessary to take other measures, especially when it was known that the *Czar* was inclined to enter into the confederacy, the point in debate with his majesty was, whether he should do what was necessary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without consulting the house of commons; or whether he should lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the decision of it to them. Some of the ministry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reason; he said, the executive part of the government was in him, and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting *.

His

* The reader may consult our general histories, and particularly the memoirs of bishop Burnet on this subject, which he has treated fully and freely. The truth is, the scheme, however fair in appearance, was like to be attended with such consequences, that baron Plessé, who was a very honest man, and had served his Danish majesty long as prime minister, could not digest it, but resigned his employments.

HIS majesty, in the spring of the year, 1700, sent over a strong squadron into *Holland*, under the command of sir *George Rooks*, who, in the latter end of *May*, was joined by a *Dutch* squadron, and having the command of the whole fleet, he sailed for the *Sound*, where he arrived about the middle of *June*. There he found the *Danish* fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of line of battle ships, ranged athwart the narrow passage, under the guns of their castle of *Cronenburg*, opposite to *Helsingberg*; and here he received assurance from count *Wutchtmeister*, admiral-general of *Sweden*, that he would take the very first opportunity of joining him with the squadron under his command. Not long after a signal was made, as had been agreed from *Helsingberg*, that the *Danish* fleet were under sail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the *Sound*, to prevent any mischief which might otherwise happen to the *Swedes*. But the *Danish* ships anchored again on this side of the grounds, not only to guard the passage, but to prevent our joining with the *Swedish* squadron, which were now come down to the south side of that channel. In this posture the fleets lay for some time, sir *George Rooks* expecting that the *Swedes* would, according to what had been promised, have pushed through; which in all probability they might have done in less than two hours, for it had blown fresh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being lost, he got under sail, and came nearer to the island of *Fluen*. Mean while the *Danes* plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off in the mouth of the channel leading up to *Copenhagen*, and the *Swedes* were much about the same distance on the other side of the grounds. The *Danes* then endeavoured to amuse the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that,

that, while it was negotiated, he would suspend hostilities ; but he pursued the spirit of his instructions, which required him to promote not a negotiation, but a peace, and therefore being informed that the *Swedish* fleet had passed the channel of *Flinterna* on the third of *July*, he sailed the next day, and anchoring off *Landscroon*, the *Swedish* fleet joined him on the sixth ; upon which the *Danes* retired into their harbour, where they were very well secured ; and though the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of *Copenhagen*, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much mischief *.

THE confederate fleet consisted of fifty-two ships of the line ; but as so great a strength was not necessary to keep in the *Danes*, part was detached for other purposes, for there were sent to *Gottenburgh* a fourth and a fifth rate of the *English*, and three ships of the *States-General*, to cover the forces which the king of *Sweden* intended to transport to *Tonningen*, on the river of *Eyder*, and three *English*, with six *Swedish*, together with three *Dutch* ships, were ordered into the south channel going into *Copenhagen*, with the bomb-vessels, from whence they bombarded the *Danish* fleet some hours, but not with much greater success than before ; nor did those on our side receive any damage from their shells, or the shot from the town, the ships and the puntoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous descent in *Roge* bay, and betwixt *Copenhagen* and *Elfinore* at the same time ; but the winds being contrary, those troops which embarked at *Udstedt* being chiefly horse, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, so that they were put on shore, and ordered to *Landscroon* and

* Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, Le Clerc, Histoire de Louis XIV. &c.

and *Helsenbourg*, to be transported from thence ; and the latter end of *July* the king of *Sweden* landed with about five thousand foot near four miles on this side *Elfsnora*, without any great loss, although the *Danes* had brought down a body of horse and foot, and three or four field-pieces to oppose them. This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the desired effect ; for the *Danes*, excessively alarmed at so unexpected a proceeding, sent orders to their plenipotentiaries at *Travendale*, to sign the preliminaries on the terms proposed by the mediators ; and this being signified to sir *George Rooke*, he refused to let the combined fleet cover any longer the descent of the *Swedes*, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the eighteenth of *August*, 1700, which left the king of *Sweden* at liberty to act against the *Czar* and the king of *Poland*, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture.

THIS whole transaction was extremely honourable, and at the same time very advantageous to the maritime powers, who cannot, as I observed, be at any time, consistent with their interests, tame spectators of a war in the north. If they had not assisted the *Swedes*, who were then the weakest, the *Danes* would have drawn the negotiation into a great length, while their allies were distressing the king of *Sweden* in different parts of his dominions ; and on the other hand, if the combined fleets had acted as vigorously as the king of *Sweden* would have had them, the island of *Zeland* must have been reduced, and perhaps the city of *Copenhagen* taken, which would have inclined the

† Present State of Europe, Life of king William, Le Clerc, &c.

the ballance too much the other way. This was the true reason that the bombardment had so little effect, and sir *George Rooke* did not affect to conceal it: for when king *Charles* complained to him, that the *English* bombs flew over, and the *Dutch* fell short of the *Danish* fleet, and that he wondered the maritime powers sent so great a strength to do nothing; admiral *Rooke* answered him very calmly, Sir, *I was sent hither to serve your majesty, but not to ruin the king of Denmark. Why then,* replied the king, smiling, *you have certainly executed your commission, and have made such a war as will make a peace.* When the business was done, the combined fleets returned, and the *States-General* were so sensible of the prudent management of the *English* admiral, that they thanked his majesty for having entrusted him with the commission. I cannot help observing upon this occasion, that when sir *George Rooke* was so unlucky as to labour under the displeasure of a powerful party in *England*, he was known and acknowledged in *Holland* to be the best officer, and the greatest seamen of the age. This, perhaps, was the reason, that notwithstanding the difference of parties, king *William* always preserved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the most important commands.

In *Scotland* things ran very high on the old subject of complaint, viz. the ruin of the *Darien* colony. Things were printed on both sides on purpose to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at last have created a breach between the two nations. The coldness of the king's temper prevented this; he could neither be heated by the *English* representations, or blown into a passion by the hasty resolutions of the *Scotch* parliament; and his moderation towards each of them, if it did not bring

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them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wisest people in *England* and in *Scotland*, firm to his government, while in the mean time many unforeseen accidents brought about the ruin of the *Scotch* company; so that the ends of their *English* adversaries were answered, without their having recourse to any harsh means; for after captain *Drummond* ran away with the *Rising Sun*, and engaged in some exploits which had too much the air of piracy, it was found impracticable to restore the affairs of the company, though the matter hung in suspense, and the fire of dissention lay raked up under the embers as long as king *William* lived, and had like to have blazed out in the reign of his successor; as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place.

WE are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of *Spain* changed all the affairs of *Europe*, and forced us, who had so lately made a very necessary peace, upon a new, expensive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius at least, if not, as the patriots of those times asserted, to the interest of the nation. It is certain

* Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c. a In order to be sensible of this, we need only cast our eyes on the following passage of my lord Somers's letter to king William, dated from Tunbridge-wells, August 28, 1698, in answer to one written by the king in relation to the first treaty of partition.

" The second thing considered, was, the very ill prospect of what was like to happen upon the death of the king of Spain, in case nothing was done previously, in providing against that accident, which seemed probably to be very near: the king of France having so great a force in such a readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain, before any other prince could be able to make a stand. Your majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad. " But

that the king did all he could to avoid it; and that this was the great, if not the sole foundation of the two famous partition-treaties, which were so much exclaimed against by those whose steady opposition to a war, had first brought the king and his ministry to think of them. It has been much disputed, whether the *French* king, or the confederates, meant least to keep these treaties when they were made; but it so falling out, that the *French* king had a fairer opportunity of breaking the last, than the confederate princes, this furnished them with an opportunity of charging him with breach of faith, and forging the king of *Spain's* will; which, however, were things believed by such only as knew little of the matter, since there never was a state-resolution taken with better advice, and more deliberation, than that of king *Charles* the second's, calling the duke of *Anjou*, afterwards king *Philip V.* to the succession. It has been also said, that the proclaiming the prince of *Wales* on the death of king *James II.* by the *French* king, was one of the causes of the war; and whoever looks upon the public acts of those times, I mean declarations, addresses, votes, &c. will think the fact certain. Yet I am pretty confident it was quite otherwise, since king *William* signed the grand alliance at the *Hague*, a week before king *James* died. But this pretence of the *French* king's breach of treaty and of his word, was very plausible,

“ But so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty, not to give your majesty this clear account. That there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally, so as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war: that they seemed to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections. This is the truth of the fact upon which your majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken.”

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plausible, and therefore it was very prudent to lay so great stress upon it, because it served to raise the resentments of the nation, and to excite that spirit that was wanting, and which much better motives never would have raised ^b.

I WOULD by no means be understood to censure this war as unreasonable or unjust; in doing this I should quit my character as an historian, and at the same time write contrary to my opinion. All I aim at is to distinguish grounds from pretences, and to justify king *William's* measures in this respect from their true motives, rather than from those which were used only to colour them, in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wise man, and a very great politician, saw plainly, that the *Spanish* succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of *Bourbon*, would leave it absolutely in the power

^b The citation in the last note, sufficiently shews the king's sentiments, and those of his minister upon this subject; and therefore, as I write at such a distance of time, when truth must be serviceable, and can do no hurt, I think I have a right to speak plainly, otherwise I should not have exercised it. As to the addresses from all parts of England (in which the French king's character is very roughly treated on account of his proclaiming a person whom some call prince of Wales, and others an imposter) I can only say, that it was politically right at that time to encourage it. But as to the perfidiousness of the French king, it is not so clear in this case, because he knew at the time, king William had negotiated a new grand alliance, and consequently stood to him in the light of his capital enemy. The excuse indeed he made for proclaiming the son of king James was trifling, and disingenuous. He said it was no breach of the treaty of Ryswick, because he gave him the title only of king of England, &c. but did not assist him to recover them. On the other hand king William wrote a letter to the new king of Spain, to felicitate him on his accession, though he never intended to own him. These are acts of policy, not of perfidy.

power of that house to give law to the rest of *Europe*, and to destroy that independency so necessary to *Great Britain* and *Holland*, which yet results from the ballance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the house of *Austria*. He saw too that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances, and immediate danger from the power of the *French* king, afforded the means of combining such a force, as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of *Europe* in the possession of their just rights. This induced him to engage reciprocally papists and protestants, to support each others pretensions; for by the grand alliance *Great Britain* and the *States* undertook to procure satisfaction to the pope; as on the other hand the emperor, and other catholic princes, stipulated to support the protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular objections amongst party-men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the separate princes and powers who compose it, must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against *France* in 1701, was right and well founded, all the cavils raised against it from the party spirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjust c.

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c This is the substance of all the state-tracts that were written in those times, and which served, as they generally do, only

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WHEN the resolution was once formed to have recourse again to arms, in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was taken of the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy; his majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that followed the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the *Admiralty* in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of *Pembroke*, a man universally beloved and esteemed. The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon sir *George Rooke*, who on the second of *July* went on board the *Triumph* in the *Downs*, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to *Spithead*, where he was speedily joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age, viz. Sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, sir *Thomas Hopson*, *John Benbow*, esq; and sir *John Munden*, he was not long after reinforced by fifteen *Dutch* men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*, vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and rear-admiral *Waeffenaar*. The whole fleet was obliged to wait at *St. Helen's* until the middle of *August* for want of provisions; and when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was constrained to put into *Torbay*. Towards the latter end of the month he sailed again; and on the second of *September* he detached vice-admiral *Benbow* with a stout squadron for the *West-Indies*; and as this was the principal business of

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only to puzzle and confound people; whereas we, being now out of the reach of their influence, see things as they were, and are able to crow'd the substance of many pamphlets into a paragraph.

the fleet, and indeed a thing in itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of *English* ships under the command of sir *John Munden*, and ten sail of *Dutch* men of war, besides frigates, under rear-admiral *Waessenare*, to see the *West-India* squadron well into the sea. The *French* expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the *Mediterranean*; and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the *Spanish* harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the *West-Indies*, without putting it in the power of the *French* to gain any exact account of its strength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his instructions for some time, and then returned with the largest ships into the *Downs*^d.

AFTER this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty thought proper to revoke his letters patent to the commissioners of the *Admiralty*, and to appoint the right honourable *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, lord high admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and of the foreign plantations. The design of this promotion was, to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly well; for his lordship immediately sent away captain *Edmund Loades* to *Cadix*, to bring home the sea stores, and the
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^d Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, &c. these people seem to find fault with sir *George Rooke*, on account of his doing little while he was at sea with so great a fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did what was to be done. This was a fleet of amusement, the war was not declared, and therefore, the longer sir *George* could keep the *French* and their allies in suspense, the greater service he did; though, without this key, hasty people might mistake the thing and believe he did no service at all

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merchants effects, before the war broke out; as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed. His lordship also took the like care of our trade in all other parts; and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very easy of access, gave much more satisfaction to merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of *Admiralty*, since they were first introduced, had ever done. Indeed his lordship's merit and success in this arduous employment, was so conspicuous and so universally acknowledged, that it is not easy to understand upon what principles the management of the fleet was changed in the ensuing year, except that it might be thought necessary to raise prince *George of Denmark* to that dignity that he might appear to have a principal concern in advising and managing affairs; which, however, was in this respect but very little to his royal highness's advantage, as will be shewn in our account of transactions under the next reign.

THE war was now the great object of our councils, as well as those of *France*, though hitherto it was not de-

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clared,

* This is a strong proof of king William's justice and good sense. Many of the enemies of that prince have remarked, that he introduced here the Dutch custom of boards, by putting all great offices into commission; but hitherto, no body has remarked, that when he resolved to enter into a second general war, he very prudently and honestly altered this method in the navy, by appointing a lord high admiral: which shews, that he was more intent on the nation's being well served at sea, than on his ministers being well supported in the house of commons.

clared, and negotiations still were carried on in *Holland* as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of their differences; which was, however, the intention of neither. The expectation of a rupture made our sea-officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon shewing their mettle sometimes a little too much. For instance, the marquis of *Caermarthen's* yacht fired upon a *French* ship in the harbour of *Rotterdam*, to oblige her to strike, which she did immediately. The commander of the yacht not satisfied with this, sent for the master of the *French* vessel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the shot. This was complained of by count *D'Avaux*, the *French* minister, in very high terms; and it is very probable, that the states would have expressed their dislike of it at another season, but things were then in such a situation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on these accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time. The *States* indeed were obliged to unite themselves closer than ever to *Great Britain*, since their safety, as well as ours, depended on the force of this alliance, as that did on our union &c.

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f This steadiness of the states was chiefly owing to their confidence in king *William*; which, without question, induced them to enter into this long and dangerous war, though they were so much exhausted by the former. His majesty, no doubt, pressed them to it, because he thought it their interest, as it really was, and ours too. Yet, such has been the violence of parties, that the *Tories* here have charged king *William* with making us principals in this war, to serve the *Dutch*, while the patriots in *Holland*, have loaded his memory with the imputation of sacrificing the interest of the republic to those of his three kingdoms. It is hard to say, which is most wonderful, the wisdom and integrity of the king, or the ingratitude of the people in both countries.

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IN the midst of these preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two *East-India* companies; which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord *Godolphin* and mr. *Harley*, afterwards earl of *Oxford*, were for the old company, and lord *Halifax* for the new. By this instrument it was agreed, that the old company's stock in the funds, should be transferred to the new, and that the old company should purchase of the new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company were likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years, each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade: and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be stiled, *Managers of the united trade to India*; and after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its stile, and to be called, *the united company of merchants trading to the East-Indies*: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since.

ONE of the last acts of king *William's* administration was a solemn message to the lower house of parliament, in relation to a union between *England* and *Scotland*, in which he said, " he should esteem it a peculiar felicity, if during his reign some happy expedient, for making both kingdoms one, might take place; and therefore he was extremely desirous a treaty for this purpose might be set on

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§ Kennet's compleat history of England, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.

foot, which he therefore recommended in the most earnest manner to the house of commons." In compliance with this message, the house did appoint a day to consider of the proposition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any resolution. Before this happened, however, they resolved that forty thousand men should be granted for the service of the fleet in the ensuing year, and shewed such an inclination to enter heartily into all measures necessary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that such a spirit would be shewn in this parliament, were much surprized, as easily fore-seeing that the new war would distress them much more than the old had ever done, because it was like to be better managed ^h.

His extraordinary attention to business is thought to have hastened the king's decease, which happened on the eighth of *March*, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great steadiness of mind, and shewed himself, in his last moments, as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to say somewhat of this prince's character, and to sum up all with a general view of the principal events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiously of such as have any affinity with the principal design of this work, and as the fame of king *William III.* stands in no need of my feeble assistance,

^h I do not take this upon the credit of Larrey and other historians of his rank, but from the best French memoirs that I have met with; in which it is confessed, that their court was deceived by the strong assurances given them by the late king's party, who, to do them justice, were in all probability deceived themselves.

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I shall content myself with saying, that never any prince better understood the general interest of *Europe*, or pursued it with greater firmness; and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of our affairs, were not so much owing to any mistakes in his conduct, as to the circumstances of the times, our own unfortunate divisions, and the fatal consequences of both¹.

THE only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the slender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, some account of the most eminent seamen who died in this reign; and in treating of these the reader is desired to remember, that no party is espoused; that every man is considered as a person of worth and honour, so far as he pursued his principles, and was just to the prince he served, and faithful to the interest of his country. By the help of this necessary and well-founded distinction, we shall be able to do strict justice to all those brave men who exposed their lives in their country's service at sea, of whatever party they were, or were reputed; which however hath been seldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally speaking, the heroes are all on one side, and there are none but indifferent people on the other. Whereas in truth there is no foundation for such characters, honest and brave

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¹ The reader, if he is inclined to pursue this subject farther, may consult Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, the life of king William, &c. where he will often find, that flattery is as dangerous to the reputation of a prince, as prejudice itself. Some writers, out of pure zeal, would make king William more than man; and others, blinded by malice refuse to see what his actions made visible to all the world, that he was one of the greatest men, and one of the wisest princes in every respect, of the age in which he lived.

men being found alike on both sides, though they have sometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by such, as have less regard to merit than opinion, and who thought it excusable to raise a clamour against a great man in an opposite interest, though they were sensible this clamour sprung from prejudice, and not any love to justice. These reflections I thought necessary, to prevent the reader's being surprized by what he meets with in the following pages, wherein I have as much disregarded the common cry, as I have been careful, by an accurate comparison of facts, to come as near in every instance as I could, to the naked truth, which when discovered, I have neither exaggerated nor concealed.

MEMOIRS of *GEORGE LEGGE*, Baron of
Dartmouth, &c.

IF remarkable loyalty, and a steady adherence to the interest of the prince who raised him, joined with all the abilities requisite to fill the many high employments he possessed, ought to render the memory of a man valuable to posterity, then the memoirs of lord *Dartmouth* deserve our utmost attention. For he was, even in the opinion of such as were not his friends, one of the ablest and best men of the age in which he lived; or, to express it in the words of a writer who ought always to meet with credit when he speaks well of the dead, *the worthiest nobleman of the court of king James II.*^a to whose fortunes he adhered, though
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^a The author mentioned in the text is bishop Burnet, whose character of this noble lord, is to be found towards the end of his first volume. What he says of him is so just and generous, that it deserves the reader's notice. That prelate, speaking
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THE family of *Legge* came over hither from *Italy*, where to this day the eldest branch are nobles of *Venice*. Here in *England* there are two flourishing families of this name; one in *Heresfordshire*, the other settled at *Legge's-Place* near *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, from whom the present earls of *Dartmouth* are lineal descendants, as coming in a direct line from *Thomas Legge*, of that place, who was sheriff of *London* in 1343, twice lord mayor, and twice representative for the city in parliament. In the reign of *Henry VII.* the family settled in *Ireland*, where *Edward Legge*, esq; was vice-president of *Munster*, and died in the year 1616, leaving behind him a very numerous posterity, viz. six sons and seven daughters, all of them distinguished by their great merit, and several of the daughters especially, by living to a very extraordinary age; *Elizabeth*, the eldest, to 105; *Margaret*, who married *Mr. Fitz-Gerald*, to upwards of an 100, and *Anne*, the wife of *William Anthony*, esq; who died in 1702, aged 112. But let us now return to the person whose actions we are to record. HE

of the uneasiness king James was under, on the fitting out of the Dutch fleet in 1688, and of the preparations he made for the defending himself, proceeds thus. "He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the command to the lord *Dartmouth*; who "was indeed one of the worthiest men of his court. He loved "him, and had been long in his service, and in his confidence; "but was much against all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he "resolved to stick to him at all hazards." ^b Hist. de Venise, par le Sieur Amelot, de la Houffai, Tom. ii. c See *Stow's Survey of London*, in the years 1346 and 1353. As to his being in parliament for the city, I have that in a MSS. list of members for *London*, in which it appears he was chosen in 1349 and 1352. ^d These particulars are chiefly collected from memoirs of the family; though they are likewise confirmed by several monumental inscriptions.

HE was the eldest son of the famous colonel *William Legge*, groom of the bed-chamber to king *Charles I.* and a most constant follower of all his fortunes. Soon after the restoration his father thought proper to send him to sea, under the care of that great and gallant admiral, sir *Edward Spragge*, in the first *Dutch* war in 1665, when Mr. *Legge* was barely seventeen*. He distinguished himself in all the actions of that and the succeeding year, by such remarkable testimonies of conduct as well as courage, that, in those days when naval preferments were earned before they were enjoyed, he was without envy raised to the command of the *Pembroke*, in 1667, when he was yet short of twenty, a preferment which did him as much honour as any he afterwards obtained†.

AFTER the peace, he applied himself assiduously to the study of the mathematicks, especially to such branches of that extensive science as have relation to the military art: and having attained to great skill as an engineer, he was employed by his majesty in that character, and in 1669 succeeded his father in the command of an independant company of foot. In 1671, he was made captain of the *Fairfax*, and in 1672, of the royal *Catherine*, in which he served with the highest reputation, having beat the *Dutch* out who boarded her while she was sinking, and after he had stopped her leaks, brought her safe into harbour; in which desperate service he received several wounds. In acknowledgment of this and other marks of military virtue

shewn

* The reason of his going to sea under sir *Edward Spragge* was, because of his near relation to the *Legge* family, his mother, being second sister to colonel *William Legge*, this gentleman's father. † This, and several other particulars, are taken from the family memoirs.

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shewn in that memorable year, he was, towards the end of it, made lieutenant governor of *Portsmouth*, under his royal highness *James*, duke of *York*; in 1673, he was made governor of that place, and at the same time master of the horse, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke.

In 1677 he was added as an assistant in the board of *Ordnance*, with a salary of 300 *l. per Annum*; and the same year was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the *Ordnance*, and had also a regiment of foot bestowed upon him. These extraordinary marks of royal favour were soon followed by still greater testimonies of esteem and confidence, for in 1681 he was sworn of the privy council to king *Charles II.* and in 1682 had a special commission to review all the forts and garrisons throughout the kingdom of *England*, and was also constituted and appointed commander in chief. On the second of *December*, in the same year, he was, by letters patent, raised to the dignity of a peer of this realm, by the title of baron of *Dartmouth*, in the county of *Devon*. With remainder, in case of failure of his issue male, to his brother *William Legge*, esq; and his issue; and in the preamble of the patent, his own, and his father's services, are very justly and gratefully acknowledged &c.

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^g See the memoirs of the Dutch war, p. 119. ^h The preamble of this patent recites, "That his majesty remembering the great merits of *William Legge*, one of the grooms of the royal bed-chamber to his late father king *Charles* the first, especially in that unparallel'd rebellion raised against him, in which, being a person of singular skill and experience in military affairs, as also a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully served him in most of the battles and sieges of those unhappy times: Also performed several eminent services to the said king, since his most happy restoration. And further, considering that *George Legge*, eldest son

IN 1683, the king finding it impossible to support the garrison of *Tangier* out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any supply for that purpose from a parliament (his last having shewn a remarkable dislike to the keeping up of forces there) resolved, notwithstanding the immense sums it had cost him in fortifying the place, and in building a mole, which rendered the port both convenient and safe, to destroy the whole, and to bring back the troops he had there into *England*. The management of this affair required great secrecy, and much conduct in the commander in chief, and this probably determined the king to make use of lord *Dartmouth*, who was appointed governor of *Tangier*, and general of his majesty's forces in *Africa*, as well as admiral of the fleet, in order to enable him to execute his instructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; so that on his return home, the king was pleased to make him a grant of 10,000 *l.* as a reward for that service, besides other acknowledgments¹.

UPON the accession of king *James II.* his lordship met with all the testimonies of royal favour and friendship which his many services, and unspotted fidelity to that prince, deserved;

“ son of the said William, following his father's steps in divers military employments, especially in sundry sharp and dangerous naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life for which respect being made general of the ordnance and artillery, and one of his most honourable privy council, his majesty thought fit to dignify him with some further honour, &c.”

¹ Particularly a grant of a fair to be held twice a year, and a market twice a week, upon Blackheath, in the parish of Lewisham, in the county of Kent. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the great difficulty in executing his commission in *Tangier*, was, to blow up all the works there, without exposing the garrison to the Moors; which service he performed with equal caution and success.

served ; for he not only continued him in all the offices he then possessed, but raised him also to posts of still greater consequence, so that he was at once master of the horse to the king, general of the *Ordnance*, constable of the *Tower of London*, captain of an independant company of foot, and one of the privy-council. These employments he executed with so great diligence and reputation, that he stood as high in the favour of the people, as he did in that of his prince, and was always considered as the greatest encourager of merit, and the most upright man in the administration of public affairs, that the age produced. He preserved the affection and confidence of his master to the last, and yet he was so far from giving in to the king's fatal inclinations to popery and arbitrary government, that he opposed all councils looking either way, with much firmness and freedom, though he took care to restrain all his remonstrances within the just bounds of duty and decency ^k.

IN 1687, king *James* making a short progress, and lord *Dartmouth* attending him therein, at *Coventry* the city presented his majesty with a large gold cup and cover, which he immediately gave to his lordship, and that too with a compliment as generous and as acceptable as the present. "I would have your lordship, said he, receive this cup and cover, as a mark of the city of *Coventry's* concern for the sufferings of your father in it." For in the time of the civil wars, old colonel *William Legge* had remained long a prisoner in *Coventry* goal, after being taken at the battle of *Worcester* ^l.

^k Kennet's compleat history of England, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

^l This story of his father's sufferings at *Coventry*, certainly deserves the reader's notice ; and therefore, not to be wanting either to his entertainment, or to the illustration of the history,

WHEN it was absolutely certain that the prince of *Orange* intended to invade *England*, king *James* saw the necessity of employing some more considerable person than sir *Roger Strickland*, who had hitherto commanded the fleet, and whose being a *Papist*, though it recommended him to that trust, rendered him very disagreeable to the seamen. In this situation of things, his majesty certainly made a very proper choice of lord *Dartmouth*, for the important office of admiral, since no man had greater abilities, scarce any so great an affection for his majesty's person, or so hearty a zeal for his interest. His lordship was much beloved by the seamen, and so universally esteemed by the seamen, and so universally esteemed by the officers of the navy, that he very soon put his fleet in a posture fit for service; and though, as I have shewn elsewhere, it has been strongly reported, that his lordship declined fighting the *Dutch* fleet, yet it is certain that it was never in his power; and that, if it had, both he and his officers would have performed what they took to be their duty. But after being severely ruffled by a storm, the fleet was forced in-

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history, I subjoin it here. The great share colonel William Legge had in the favour of king *Charles I.* made him so obnoxious to the rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the earl of *Derby*, for being in arms against them; and with that view, they confined him in *Coventry* goal. His lady knowing their cruelty, and having tried all her interest with the people in power, in vain, at last contrived a very artful method for making his escape, which was as successfully executed. With this view, she hired an old woman to lend him her cloaths which he put on, and having a close-stool-pan well filled between his hands, the smell kept the keepers at such a distance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any enquiries. After the murder of king *Charles I.* he was much about the person of the duke of *York*, which inspired his majesty with a great tenderness for him and all his family.

to *Portsmouth*, where his lordship quitted the command to sir *John Berry*, and returned to *London*.^m After the revolution, lord *Dartmouth* lived quietly, and submitted to the new government; yet was always suspected to retain his old sentiments for the person who had been so long, and withal so kind a master. For this reason, and on account of some suggestions that he carried on a secret correspondence with the abdicated king, he was committed prisoner to the *Tower of London*. While he continued there, some rumours flew abroad of his being ill treated, which had such an effect on the sailors, who loved him as their father, that they assembled in great bodies on *Tower-Hill*, where they expressed their resentments in such language, that it was at length found expedient to desire lord *Dartmouth* to confer with them; and on his assuring them that the report they had heard was void of any foundation, they gave a cheerful huzza, and dispersed immediately.

It is thought, however, that his confinement, and the want of his usual exercise, might contribute to the shortening his days; for on the twenty first of *October*, 1691, he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life, in the forty fourth year of his ageⁿ.

His relations applied themselves, on his decease, to the constable of the *Tower*, then lord *Lucas*, for leave to remove

^m In the second volume, we have already given so full an account of this affair, that it would be tedious to add any thing more here, except that lord *Dartmouth* laid down his command as soon as he came on shore; and when he could not act for his majesty, would not, as another favourite did, act against him. ⁿ King James received the news of his death with great concern, and said with a deep sigh, then faithful Will. Legge's honest son George is dead! I have few such servants now!

move his body in order to its interment ; which his lordship scrupled, without receiving exprefs directions from the king. But upon application made to his majesty, he not only ordered, that the body should be immediately delivered to his lordship's relations, but upon his being informed, that they intended to bury it near the remains of his father, in the *Little Minories* church, in a vault belonging to his family, his majesty gave further orders, that all such marks of respect should be paid at his funeral, as would have been due to him, if he had died possessed of all his employments. Which is a circumstance equally honourable to the memory of king *William* and lord *Dartmouth*, since it shews impartiality and greatness of soul in the former, and the true merit of the latter, which produced such a testimony of respect from so penetrating a judge.

A monument of white marble, adorned with a proper inscription, was erected to the memory of his lordship, by his consort *Barbara*, baroness of *Dartmouth*, who was the daughter of sir *Henry Archbold*, of *Staffordshire*, who died in 1718, and lies buried there by him.

HIS lordship had by her an only son *William*, who is at present earl of *Dartmouth*, so created by her majesty queen *Anne*, in the tenth year of her reign. His lordship had also the honour of being secretary of state, and afterwards lord privy-seal in the same reign, and discharged both those high offices with that integrity hereditary in his

lordship's

• This is taken from the memoirs of the family. p The inscription is very long, otherwise we should have inserted it, and his lordship's memory too fresh, to make this pass for an indifferent excuse.

lordship's noble family, and which has been for many years no less conspicuous in his private life.

MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knt.
REAR-ADMIRAL of *England*.

THERE cannot be a stronger testimony of real merit, than a man's surmounting by his spirit and diligence a long series of crosses and misfortunes, and thereby forcing himself as it were into an easier situation, and by degrees into a condition worthy his desert. Fortitude in suffering is a virtue no less honourable than courage in achieving, and the distresses of heroes, like the shades in a fine picture, bestow a graceful assistance on the brighter parts of the piece, and thereby considerably heighten its beauties. This observation cannot more fully be illustrated, than it will be by the account we are to give of the life and actions of Sir *John Berry*, who (without any assistance, other than resulted from the admiration of his courage and conduct) arrived at the dignity of rear-admiral of *England*, and shared the confidence of three succeeding kings.

THE family of the *Berry's* in *Devonshire* were seated at *Berry-Nerber*, near *Ilfracomb*, where they had flourished for some hundreds of years*. But the father of our gallant sea-officer was never in any extraordinary circumstances. He owed his reputation, which

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still

* Pole's survey of *Devonshire*, MS. This village lies in Branton hundred in the middle between Combe-Merton, and Ilfracomb, at a small distance from the sea, and about twenty-seven miles from Exeter.

still subsists in his county, not to the goods of fortune, but to his learning and abilities; and above all to his courage and loyalty. He was a Clergyman, and vicar of *Knoweston* and *Molland* in that county, where he discharged his duty with equal fidelity to the church, and to the state. For this, the saints of those times not only turned him out of his livings, but plundered his house, and took even his bed from under him; all which they sold by public auction, except his books, which being a large and valuable collection, they to shew their moderation and generosity, bestowed them upon an independant preacher. Soon after this, the truly reverend mr. *Daniel Berry* died of grief and want, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and left behind him a widow, *Elizabeth*, daughter of *John Moore*, of *Moorhays*, esq; and nine small children, of which seven were sons and two daughters^b.

THE eldest, *Robert*, betook himself to the sea, where he prospered very well. The second, *John*, of whom we are to speak, and who was born in his father's vicarage-house at *Knoweston*, in the year 1635, being at the good old man's death about seventeen years old, went to *Plymouth*, where he bound himself apprentice to mr. *Robert Mering*, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in several Ships. He went to sea in his service, and was extremely unfortunate in setting out, being twice taken by the *Spaniards*, and suffering, a long imprisonment, which however did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to *England*, he

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found

^b Most of these particulars are taken from a monument erected in the year 1684, by sir John Berry, to the memory of his father. His two churches of *Knoweston* and *Molland* were not above two miles asunder, lying both in Moulton hundred, at the distance of about eighteen miles from *Exeter*.

found his master in very bad circumstances; which however was no prejudice to him, for in a short time after mr. *Mering* told him, that having now no further occasion for his service, he would, in reward of his past diligence, give him the remainder of his time; which he did freely c.

Mr. *Berry*, thus at large and at liberty to act for himself, immediately came up to *London*, where, by the help of some friends, he was preferred to be a boatswain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the *Swallow*, which, under the Command of Captain *Irfam*, was ordered to the *West-Indies*, in company with two of his majesty's Frigates, both of which were lost in the gulph of *Florida*; but the *Swallow*, by cutting down her masts, and heaving her guns over-board and also her provisions, got clear, and in the space of sixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the Fish they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at *Campachy*. There they furnished themselves with provisions, and then sailed for *Jamaica*, where they arrived in three weeks d.

Sir *Thomas Muddiford*, who was a native of *Devonshire* as well as mr. *Berry*, was then governor of that island, and he ordered the *Swallow* to be refitted, put eight guns on board her, and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one mr. *Peach*, bound from *Southampton* to *Jamaica*,

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maica,

c The particulars mentioned in this life, were most of them collected by mr. Daniel Berry, brother to the admiral; but as he wrote at a considerable distance of time, he often omits dates, and sometimes mistakes them. d It was not easy to fix the time of mr. Berry's first voyage to the *West-Indies*; but probably it was in the year 1661.

maica, and marooned him and all his crew, was still in those seas, he ordered the *Swallow*, now well victualled and manned to put to sea in quest of her, and gave his countryman *Berry* the title of lieutenant. In three weeks after they sailed from *Jamaica*, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the island of *Hispaniola*. He had about sixty men and twenty guns; whereas the *Swallow* had but forty men and eight small guns. Captain *Insam* having considered the enemy's strength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addressed them in these words: *Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old Buccaneers, and superior to us in number, and in the force of their ship, and therefore I would have your opinion, whether—*Sir, interrupted lieutenant *Berry*, *we are men at arms too, and, which is more, honest men, and fight under the king's commission; and if you have no stomach for fighting, be pleased to walk down into your cabin.* The crew applauded this motion, and declared, one and all, for captain *Berry*; who undertook this affair with great disadvantage. The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the *Swallow* was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which she received two broadsides, and two volleys of small shot, without returning a gun. Mr. *Berry* then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadside, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the spot: They then fought their way to the main-mast, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get over board, and hang by the rudder; which they did, and soon after the pirate was taken, having only seven men left, and those all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in *Jamaica*; and, which is still more remarkable, there

was

was no body killed on board the *Swallow*, but the boat-swain's mate ^c.

ON their return to *Jamaica*, captain *Insam* confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial; where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, and ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to *England*; which he did, and mr. *Berry* behaved towards him with all imaginable modesty and submission.

IN a short time after he came home, the *Dutch* war broke out, and mr. *Berry* had a sloop given him, called the *Maria*, of fourteen guns, with the king's commission. He held this small command for about four months, in which space he took thirty-two prizes; and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the *Coronation*, a hired ship of war of fifty-six guns.

IN this ship he was soon after sent to the *West-Indies*, where our colonies were in no small danger, as having both the *French* and *Dutch* upon their Hands. On his arrival at *Barbadoes*, the governor bought some large merchant-ships, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine sail, including the *Coronation*, manned, and put them under the command of commodore *Berry*. With this little fleet he sailed for *Nevis*, in order to protect it from the *French*, who had already made themselves masters of *St. Christopher's*, *Antigua*, and *Mountserrat*. He was scarce arrived, before he had intelligence, that the *French*

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were

^c These particulars are preserved in the MS. accounts of his brother's achievements, written by mr. *Berry*; and I find the principal facts confirmed in an account of the most remarkable passage under lord *Windfor*, sir *Thomas Muddifora* and sir *Thomas Lynch*, successively governors of *Jamaica*.

were preparing at *St. Christopher's* a very great force which was intended for the conquest of *Nevis*. They had twenty-two men of war, and frigates, six large transport-ships of their own, and four *Dutch*. With these they sailed towards *Nevis*, as to a certain victory. Commodore *Berry* sailed with his nine ships to meet them; and as he turned the point of the island, one of his best ships blew up, which struck his men with astonishment. *Now you have seen an English ship blow up*, said the commodore, *let us try if we can't blow up Frenchmen. There they are, boys! and if we don't beat them, they will beat us.* Having said this, he immediately began the fight with the *French* admiral, and, after a brisk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for shelter under the cannon of *St. Christopher's*, whither he pursued them, sent in a fire-ship, and burnt the *French* admiral: seeing her in flames, he said to his seamen, *I told you in the morning, that we should burn a Frenchman before night; to-morrow we will try what we can do with the rest.* But while he was refitting his ships, the enemy wisely stole away; the *French* to *Martinico*, and the *Dutch* to *Virginia*^f. Sir *John Harman* being sent with a squadron to relieve

^f We are in some measure enabled to fix the date of this enterprize, by the following remarkable passage, preserved in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. "On the nineteenth of August, 1667, there was a terrible hurricane in this island; at which time sir John Berry, captain of the *Coronation* man of war, was in the harbour, with that and several other ships, of which one was commanded by captain Langford, who having learnt some of the prognostics of a turnado, from a *Charibbean*, perceiving them, he told sir John and the other commanders of it; who depending on his intelligence, made their ships ready for the sea, " and

lieve him, commodore *Berry* returned to *England*, and served with great honour in the channel, and in the *Mediterranean*.

IN the second *Dutch* war (as it was called, though properly speaking it was the third) he had the command of the *Resolution*, a seventy gun ship, in which he was present in the famous action in *Southwold-bay*, on the twenty eighth of *May*, 1672. In this battle, the captain observing that his royal highness the duke of *York*, then lord high admiral of *England*, was very hard pressed, he left his station, and came in to his relief; where the service proved so hot, that in less than two hours, he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ship scarce able to float: upon this he was towed out of the line, stopt his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did such service, that when his majesty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the *Royal Sovereign* at the *Buoy in the Nore*, he, of his own motive, called for captain *Berry*, and having knighted him, said very graciously, *As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I would not have so brave a man, a poor knight.*

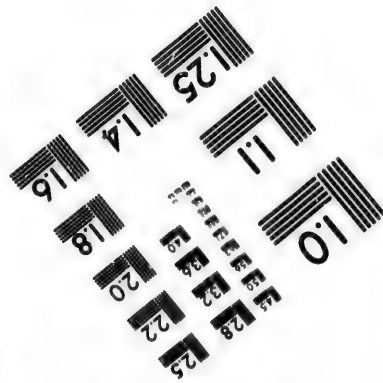
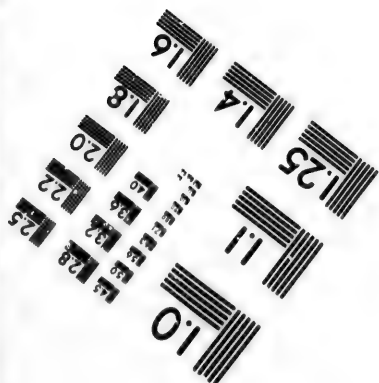
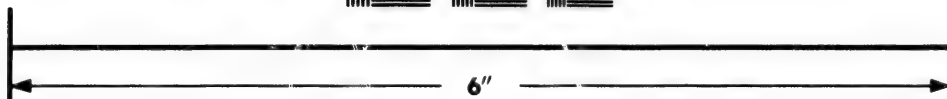
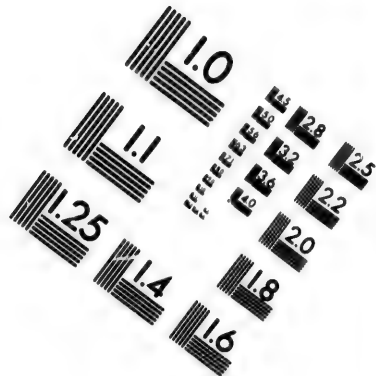
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" and in the morning, about four of the clock, the wind coming very hard northerly, they put to sea, and came all back in four or five days time, safe to the road again. Captain *Langford* was ashore, and being confident of the hurricane's coming, took such care before-hand to secure his sugars, and goods, in the store house, that when the hurricane had carried away the roof of the house, all, except one hogthead of sugar, remained safe." *Lowthorp's abridgment*, Vol. ii. p. 106.

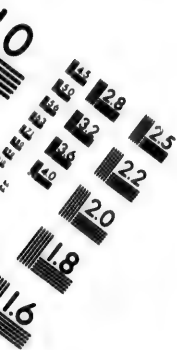
* Catalogue of knights made by king *Charles II.*





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IN the year 1682, it was thought expedient to send the duke of York down to Scotland; and for this purpose the *Gloucester*-frigate, under the command of sir *John Berry*, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly on the twenty eighth of *April*, the duke of York embarked on board that ship. In their passage, sir *John* observed, on the third of *May*, when in the mouth of the *Humber*, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his employment. Of this he informed the duke, and desired they might lye-to; at least for that night; which the pilot opposed, and being a great favourite of the duke's, his advice prevailed. But his royal highness was soon convinced of the superiority of sir *John Berry*'s judgment, since in three quarters of an hour afterwards the ship was lost, and about three hundred people in her, amongst whom was some persons of the first rank, and the duke himself narrowly escaped in the long-boat, sir *John Berry* standing with his sword drawn in the stern of the boat, to hinder people from crowding in; which undoubtedly saved the duke, since a very few more would have overset the long-boat^h. For the

^h This accident happened by their striking upon the sand call'd the Lemon and Ore, sixteen leagues from the mouth of the *Humber*. Two things were very remarkable, that the duke took extraordinary care of colonel *John Churchill*, afterwards duke of *Marlborough*, and called him first into the boat. The other was, that the mariners aboard the sinking vessel, gave a loud huzza, when they saw the duke in safety. Bishop *Burnet*'s account of this matter, is too remarkable to be forgot. "The duke, says he, got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons who were taken, from that earnest care of his, to be his priests. The long boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried

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the loss of this ship, sir *John*, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but it appearing clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but continued still in as great favour as ever, both with the king and duke, who frequently consulted him as to the management of the navy.

WHEN a resolution was taken in 1683, to blow up *Tangier*, and a considerable fleet was sent thither under the command of lord *Dartmouth*, sir *John Berry* was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the sole command of the fleet, while his lordship was on shore, directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition, sir *John* gave such remarkable testimonies of his courage and conduct, and took such care in bringing off all the *English*, and their effects, that upon his return home, he was made a commissioner of the navy; in which post he continued to the day of his death.

UNDER the reign of king *James II.* he was in as high favour, as he could desire, the king constantly consulting him in matters relating to the management of the fleet, and he was one of the commissioners called in on that great re-form of the navy mentioned in the close of our last volume, and had the chief hand in bringing things into that exquisite

"ried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and " fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality." The Gloucester frigate, was a ship of forty guns, there were upwards of fifty persons saved with the duke, and that eighty more should be able to go into her long boat, is a fact that will gain but little credit at Wapping. Besides, the keeping the people out, was sir *John Berry's* act, and if there had been any such circumstances of cruelty, one can scarce believe the sailors would have testified so much joy at his royal highness's escape. *Memoirs of the lord Dartmouth, cited in the former life.*

site order, in which they were found when the king withdrew to *France*^k. He was not, however, considered solely as a commissioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for, when it was known that the *Dutch* meditated an invasion, and a fleet was fitted out to defend our coasts, sir *John Berry* was appointed vice-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the *Elizabeth*, a third Rate, the admiral, lord *Dartmouth*, being in the *Resolution*, and the rear-admiral, lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, first in the *Montague*, and then in the *Edgar*. After the landing of the prince of *Orange*, when lord *Dartmouth* thought fit to leave the fleet, the sole command of it devolved on sir *John Berry*, who held it until it was laid up^l.

THE change of the government, wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome servant to every prince. King *William* was one who valued abilities, and understood them, and therefore he often sent for sir *John Berry*, to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in so close and earnest a conversation, that it took up the whole night, and sir *John* was not dismissed the royal closet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning^m. Yet this favour brought him no accession either of post or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that sufficient, being commissioner of the navy, governor of *Deal Castle*, and captain of an independant company. We now hasten to the last scene of his life, over which such a curtain has been drawn, as leaves it not in our power to let in the light. He was ordered,

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^k Memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy of England, by Samuel Pepys, esq; p. 52. ^l Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c. ^m From the memoirs before-mentioned.

in the beginning of the month of *February*, 1691, to *Portsmouth*, to pay off some ships there; and while he was employed in the discharge of this office on board one of them, he was suddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on shore to *Portsmouth*; where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the physicians and surgeons, who were present, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been dispatched out of the world by poison; though by whom, or for what reason, never appeared, at least it was never made publicⁿ.

IN his private life, his wisdom, beneficence, integrity, and unfeigned attachment to the church of *England*, were as conspicuous as his courage, and other military virtues, in his public character. So that he died equally lamented by all who knew him, either as a private gentleman, or as an *English* admiral. His corpse, according to his own direction, was carried from *Portsmouth* to *London*, and decently interred in the chancel of *Stepney* church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his bust in alabaster. Over his head are the arms of his family, viz. in a field, *Gules*, three bars, *Or*; and on a white marble table underneath, the following inscription.

“ Ne id nescias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, Devonienfis,
 “ dignitate equestri clarus, mari tantum non imperator, de
 “ rege & patriâ (quod & barbari norunt) bene meritus,
 “ magnam ob res fortiter gestas adeptus gloriam famæ
 “ satur, post multas reportatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci
 “ non

ⁿ This gentleman might be said to die in the flower of his age, if we consider him as an admiral; since he was very little more than fifty-six, when thus carried off.

" non potuit, fatis cessit 14 Feb. 1691, baptizatus 7 Jan.
" 1635."

THE lady of sir *John Berry* survived him many years, but he left no issue by her; or, so far as I have been able to learn, ever had any °.

MEMOIRS of *ARTHUR HERBERT*, baron *Herbert* of *Torbay*, earl of *Torrington*, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet of *England*.

IT is the duty of historians to report things fairly, and to speak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues or their vices, by exhibiting their characters to posterity in that light in which, after the best enquiry they are able to make, they appear to themselves: for as water never rises higher than its source, so it is impossible that an author should do more for his reader, than his talents and his informations will permit. The latter were so inconsiderable when this work was first written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble person, than to repeat a few facts and dates so indifferently connected, as that it could not be presumed they would give even the most indulgent peruser any satisfaction. After much pains and search, some better materials have been found; and as almost every remarkable transaction of this great man's life fell within the compass of king *William's* reign, or at least not much later, and is more or less allied to those transactions of which we have been speaking, it seemed more natural to place what we have to say of him

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° This particular is likewise taken from his brother's memoirs,

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here, than at the time of his death, when they could not fail of making an apparent breach in the order of our history.

HE was the son of sir *Edward Herbert*, of *London*, knight, of the noble family of *Herbert of Chirbury*, a branch of that of *Pembroke*, which suffering severely for the loyalty of sir *Edward*, obliged his sons to think of making their fortunes by their industry and merit. *Arthur*, the eldest, though he had a small estate of his own, made the sea his choice, as his younger brother, *Edward*, did the law; and both attained the highest stations, the latter becoming chief justice of the *King's-Bench*, as well as the former admiral of the fleet of *England*. Our young seaman, immediately after the restoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highness *James* duke of *York*, by whose favour he was very early promoted to the command of one of his majesty's ships of war; and in the first *Dutch* war, in the reign of *Charles II.* he commanded the *Pembroke* in the *Streights*. He distinguished himself there, according to the manner of those times, in a very high degree, as appears from the following extract of a letter from *Cadix*, dated in *March*, 1667, which I chuse to give in the same plain and artless language in which it was wrote, rather than hazard any variation in the facts, by attempting to give it a better dress.

“CAPTAIN *Herbert*, in the *Pembroke*, is now in this port, being newly returned from a fresh dispute with a *Zealand* man of war of thirty-four guns, and one hundred
“dred

^p Peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 317. ^q Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 992. * An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. 1691. 4to.

“dred and eighty men, with whom he fought some days
 “before in sight of that bay, from two in the afternoon,
 “till the night put an end to that day’s work. All that
 “night the *Pembroke* frigate carrying out a light for the
 “*Zealand*, and the next morning, being to the wind-
 “ward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but
 “the *Zealand*, being the nimbler sailer, bore away once
 “or twice before the wind, declining any farther dispute,
 “which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to
 “leeward of the port by a fruitless pursuit, the wind then
 “blowing a strong levant, came again for the bay, which
 “the *Zealand* wanted not the confidence to boast of as
 “a mark of his victory. Since this, the frigate being
 “put ashore to wash and tallow, the *Zealand* made se-
 “veral challenges, but went out again to sea, before the
 “frigate could get ready. Yesterday morning the *Zea-*
 “*land* coming in, the frigate being ready, went out to
 “meet him, and passed five times upon him within pistol-
 “shot, until the *Zealand* finding the service too hot,
 “bore in for the bay, pursued for along time by the fri-
 “gate, which being unable to overtake him, fired her chase
 “gun, and stood out again to sea, the *Zealand* answer-
 “ing her challenge with a friendly salute of three guns to
 “leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into the
 “bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, leaving
 “the *Pembroke* at sea in vain attending him till the next
 “morning. The captain of the *Zealand* afterwards came
 “ashore, endeavouring to persuade the people that his
 “main-mast was disabled, and that he wanted shot for
 “his guns. In this dispute the frigate had seven men
 “killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-
 “mast

"mast somewhat disabled, but will speedily be refitted.
"and made serviceable."

He continued after this affair in the *Streights* for about six weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral *Kemphorne** was sailed with his Squadron for the *Streights*-mouth, where he took care to join him with a small fleet of sixteen or seventeen merchant-men under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to *England*. They met with nothing extraordinary in their passage, till about the middle of the month of *May*, when being off the island of *Portland*, the *Pembroke* ran foul of the *Fairfax* in the night, and sunk at once; but captain *Herbert*, and most of his crew, were happily saved, there being none lost in the vessel but a few sick men, who were not able to help themselves, and whom the suddenness of the accident, and the confusion every body was in, hindered being assisted by others. After this narrow escape, captain *Herbert* went on board another ship of the Squadron, and arrived safely at *Portsmouth*†.

It was not long before he had another ship given him, and both in that, and in the second *Dutch* war, he behaved upon all occasions with great spirit and resolution, receiving several wounds, and losing the sight of one of his eyes in his country's service; all which considered, it must seem very strange, that when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage should be disputed. In one of the last sea-fights in the second *Dutch* war, he had the command of the *Cambridge*, in which sir *Fretchville Hollis* had been killed in the battle of *Solebay*, and as captain *Herbert* succeeded in his command, he was very near succeeding

* See the Memoirs of admiral Kemphorne.
Intelligence, foreign and domestic, May 1667.

† Monthly

ing also to the same disaster, being desperately wounded in the action, and his ship so disabled, that, together with the *Resolution*, which was in as bad a condition, she was by prince *Rupert* sent home to refit ^u. After that war was over, captain *Herbert* had leisure to attend the court, and to solicit the rewards that were due to his services, in which he met with all possible kindness from the duke of *York*, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himself obliged to assist him in his pretensions, so that in the year 1680, or 1681, he was made rear admiral of the *Blue* ^x; and from that time was considered as a person who had as much probability of rising as any in the service. It was not long before an occasion offered which justified this conjecture; for it being found necessary to send a supply of troops and military stores to *Tangier*, then in our hands, as also a squadron to curb the insolence of the *Algerines*, who, notwithstanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to disturb our commerce, it was resolved, that the command of this armament should be given to admiral *Herbert* ^y, who was accordingly instructed to contribute as much as possible to the raising the siege of *Tangier*; and when that was done, to use his best endeavours to bring the *Algerines* to a submission, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms, than that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in such a manner, as to justify their piracies.

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^u Account of the proceedings of his majesty's fleet under the command of his serene highness prince Rupert, palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Cumberland, p. 4. ^x So I find it in an account of naval promotions extracted from secretary Pepys's papers. ^y Burchet's naval history.

IN 1682 rear admiral *Herbert* sailed into the *Mediterranean* with a strong squadron, and a considerable number of tenders and storeships, which arrived very safe under his convoy at *Tangier*. He found that fortress not a little straitened by the *Moors*, by whom it was so closely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. *Herbert* not only relieved the garrison, by the seasonable supply that he brought of provisions and military stores, but resolved also to restore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raise the blockade. He landed with this view as many seamen out of the fleet as he could possibly spare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the *Moors* on one side, while the garrison made a brisk sally, and drove them from most of their posts on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire further within land*. He executed the other part of his charge with respect to the *Algerines*, with equal spirit and success, destroyed some of their ships, and disposed things in such a manner to disturb and distress that state by sea, as obliged the *Dey* to summon a *Divan*; in which it was resolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the *English* admiral; the terms were very speedily settled, without any of those ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleased, and the business of his expedition being happily over, he returned home safe with the squadron under his command, towards the latter end of the same year.

VOL. III.

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* Burchet's naval history.

* An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. Burchet's naval history.

SOME time after this, but whether in the reign of king *Charles* the second, or King *James*, I am not able to say, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much esteemed by the seamen, and in as high credit at court as any officer in the service. The favours he had received from the duke of *York* gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the accession of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, since in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of *England*, and master of the robes, there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached, either to the government, or to the person of that prince than *mr. Herbert*. But when the scheme for repealing the test act came under consideration, and king *James* thought fit to closet such of his officers in the army and fleet as had seats in the house of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral *Herbert* was none of those complying spirits, who, for the sake of private profit, would sacrifice the interest of the publick. His brother, the lord chief justice *Herbert*, had exposed himself to publick odium, by giving judgment in his court in favour of the king's dispensing power, upon an action brought against *sr. Edward Hales*, who had accepted an employment without qualifying himself for it by taking the oaths the law required, and tho' this seemed in some measure to have done all that the king wanted, he still persisted in his design of having the test act repealed; which, amongst other extraordinary consequences, produced the disgrace of vice-admiral *Herbert*, who to that hour had never done any thing to disoblige the king, or had perceiv-

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^b Collibor's Columna Rostrata, p. 252, ^c Reresby's Memoirs, p. 241.

ed the least coldness in his majesty towards him ^d. We have this story at large in bishop *Burnet's* History of his Own Times*, with some inferences from it that are very just, I shall give it the reader therefore in his own words.

“ So little regard, says that prelate, had the chief justice’s nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother admiral *Herbert*, being pressed by the king to promise that he would vote the repeal of the test, answered the king very plainly, that he could not do it, either in honour nor conscience. The king said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people, who talked more of conscience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice: But though he was poor, and had much to lose, having places to the value of four thousand pounds a year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise: for, as he had great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the king’s service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past service would be considered if men were not resolved to comply in every thing.”

THE bishop bears very hard in the beginning of this account of the vice-admiral’s behaviour, upon that of his brother the chief justice, as he does likewise in many other places, it is therefore but common justice to the character

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* An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. History of his own times, vol. i. p. 671.

of that gentleman, who was a great lawyer, and in private life a very generous worthy man, to take notice that he was very far from being so absolute a time-server as he is frequently represented; for the truth is, that he suffered as well as his brother for his regard to the publick, and there seems to be no reason that this truth should not be as well known. When king *James* found it was in vain to think of attaining his purposes by a parliament, he placed all his hopes in what was certainly a fitter instrument for answering his design, and that was his standing army. Yet in the management of this, there was some difficulty, for being composed of *Englismen*, they shewed an inclination rather to desert their colours than to act against their country. To prevent this, it was resolved to make use of an act of parliament, by which it was made felony for any soldier to quit his colours after being duly enlisted in the king's service in time of war, either in parts beyond the seas, or in *Scotland*. But to make this law operate in *England*, was not very consonant to law, how much soever it might be to the king's will in this point; therefore the lord chief justice *Herbert* was as far from complying in this, as his brother the admiral had been in that of the test; upon which he was removed^d and was succeeded in his high office by sir *Robert Wright*, who not long after hanged a poor soldier upon that statute by way of wetting his commission^f. It is true, that sir *Edward Herbert* followed the fortunes of his master, and remained with him in *France*, which shewed that what he did upon the bench, proceeded purely from conscience, and not from any private reason of hope or fear whatever. But this conduct of the chief justice in succeeding times, was thrown

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^f Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 692.

In the teeth of his brother, and ill-natured people took occasion to suggest, that it was very unlikely one should be faithful to king *William*, while the other was excepted out of all acts of indemnity for his adherence to king *James* s. But let us now quit this short digression, which however shews what sentiments the soundest lawyers had of a standing army in those days, in order to return to the conduct of vice-admiral *Herbert*, after he was removed from his employments, and reduced to the state of a private man, with no very considerable fortune to support even that.

THE small appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with safety at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who at that juncture chose to retire abroad, induced Mr. *Herbert* to withdraw to *Holland*, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel *Herbert*, and by his cousin *Henry Herbert* esq; whom king *William* afterwards created lord *Herbert of Cherbury*. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the states, which was a very prudent and beneficial step, numbers of *English* seamen following, and entering for his sake into the *Dutch* service ^h, which convinced the states that things were come to a crisis in *England*, and that the king had lost the affections of his subjects to a strange degree, when the seamen, who of all others had shewed themselves most hearty in his cause, began to forsake him. At the prince of *Orange's* court, vice-admiral *Herbert* was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great

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^a In many of the pamphlets after the earl's disgrace this was reflected on and the author of the impartial account apologizes for it.
^b Sir John Reresby's memoirs p. 266.

weight and experience ; one that perfectly understood the state of the *English* fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it ; so that there is no great reason to wonder he was treated with very high respect, and received into the most entire confidence, more especially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reserved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expressed by some other persons, who thought to make their court, by representing an attempt upon *England*, as a thing that might be easily accomplished ; whereas the vice-admiral understood and spoke of it, as an undertaking that required a very considerable strength, and much deliberation i.

THE same prelate we have before quoted, gives us on this occasion a very different character of Mr. *Herbert*, from that which he had drawn before in order to shew how great his own merit was in managing a man, who was altogether untractable in the hands of others, and even of the prince himself; the passage is very curious, and therefore the reader shall see it, in the bishop's own words^k.
 “ Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour : for he was upon every occasion so sullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts past, in which he complained, that the king had used him, not only hardly, but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride, and luxury, yet he had a good understanding, and he had gained so great a reputation
 “ by

i An impartial account of many remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington &c. k History of his own times, Vol. i. 762.

“ by his steady behaviour in *England*, that the prince understood, that it was expected he should use him, as he himself should desire ; in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me : and it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition : for his private quarrel with the lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the king’s confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the fullness he fell under toward the king, and of all the firmness that grew out of that.”

It must appear more wonderful than any thing observed by our historian, if this was the real character of the man, that the states general, and the prince of *Orange*, should give him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intrust him with the supreme command of their fleet; it is true our author says, that this was not very easy to the states, or to the prince himself, who thought it an absurd thing. But why did they do it then ? nothing less, says he, would content *Herbert*. If this was so, we have some reason to believe, that the states and the prince of *Orange* had a very high opinion of his talents, or of his interest, in taking so extraordinary a step, merely because he would not be content without it^m. But it is more probable, that he was put at the head of the fleet, because there were many reasons that made him the properest man for that command, such as the nature of the design itself, his interest among

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¹ *Mercure historique* pour le mois d’Octobre, 1668. ^m *History of his own times*, vol. i. p. 764.

the officers of the *English* navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the governors of sea-port towns, to come into the prince, and above all, the necessity they were under of having some *Englishman* in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now, if we view this matter in these lights, it is no difficult thing to see, that of all the *English* who were about his royal highness, vice-admiral *Herbert* was in every respect the fittest man to be intrusted with that command; and therefore, if nothing else would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute so much to the success of the enterprize; yet of the two, it is infinitely more probable, that he did not insist upon this himself, but that the States and the prince of *Orange* conferred the command upon him, as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary.

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all respects, and will appear so, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that seven hundred transports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that provisions, ammunition, and every thing requisite for the service as well of the army, as of the fleet, was to be procured in a short time, and with the utmost secrecy; all which was actually done by the indefatigable diligence of four commissioners, viz. *Bentinck*, *Dykvelt*, *Van Hulst*, and *Herbert*: it is plain therefore, that his skill in directing what was requisite for the fleet, was intirely relied on; and if he had

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^a History of the Revolution, p. 135.

been such a haughty, morose, over-bearing person he could have hardly maintained a fair correspondence with his colleagues for so long a space as they were engaged in making these preparations: as to which our historian tell us that they were two months constantly employed in giving all the necessary orders, which they did with so little noise, that nothing broke out all that time^o. After such an instance of his capacity, and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the states and the prince of *Orange*, in trusting vice-admiral *Herbert*, though a stranger, with so high a command was, the publishing his letter to the commanders of the *English* fleet, at the very same time with the prince of *Orange's* declaration, for if they had not placed very strong hopes upon that, without question it had never been published at all; and if they had such hopes, this alone will sufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of *Orange*, to whom, by the nature of his commission, he was lieutenant-general by sea. Neither were these hopes of influencing the *English* seamen slightly grounded, since the pamphlets wrote in those times universally agree, that the seamen had a very general and warm aversion to popery, disliked and despised such of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral *Herbert's* health; so that these were very strong indications of their ill will on one side, and their good will on the other^p.

^p History of his own times, vol. i. 768 ^p An impartial account of many remarkable passages in the life of the earl of Torrington, &c.

It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not such an effect so soon as it was expected; but this was chiefly owing to unforeseen and inevitable accidents; neither can any thing be affirmed about it with much certainty: but as the letter itself is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unless in a *French* translation, it may not be disagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reason to insert it, because nothing can have a closer relation to this noble person's memoirs, since it must be allowed to have been the most remarkable and most important paper that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

*To all commanders of ships and seamen in his
majesty's fleet.*

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE little to add to what his highness has expressed in general terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are at present in, where ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties; for should it please God for the sins of the *English* nation to suffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion, in which you have lived, and your fathers died, of which I beg you as a friend to consider the consequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after-ages, that by your means the protestant religion was destroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and

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and if it pleases God to bless the prince's endeavours with success, as I do not doubt but he will, consider then what their condition will be that oppose him in this so good a design, where the greatest favour they can hope for is their being suffered to end their days in misery and want, detested and despised by all good men.

It is therefore, for these, and for many other reasons, too long to insert here, that I, as a true *Englishman*, and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the prince for the defence of the common cause, the protestant religion, and the liberties of your country.

It is what I am well assured, the major, and best part of the army, as well as the nation, will do so as soon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in so good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, so you will yet go further, by making it as much as in you lies the protection of her religion and liberties, and then you may assure yourselves of all marks of favour and honour, suitable to the merits of so glorious an action. After this I ought not to add so inconsiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a most particular manner,

Aboard the *Leyden*
in the *Goree*.

your faithful friend,
and humble servant,

AR. HERBERT.

WHEN every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with so much speed and secrecy, that no advices could be given in *England* that could be of any use: but notwithstanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They sailed on the nineteenth of *October*, 1688, and they
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put back into port on the twenty-second. This was a great disappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of less firmness, or by an admiral of less experience, their expedition had been lost ^q. It is reported, that admiral *Herbert* advised putting off the business to that late season of the year, because he judged, that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be less able to act; and that, when the enterprize was so long delayed, it would be concluded in *England* to be given over. His serene highness came into this proposition for the reasons before assigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was, that the season of the year for a campaign being over, the *French* were not like to make any attempts, and consequently the States General ran little or no hazard by their troops being thus employed at this juncture ^r. It is on all sides acknowledged, that it was owing to admiral *Herbert* that the prince of *Orange* laid aside his intention of sailing northward to the *Humber*, which must have been attended with great inconveniencies, as no fleet could lie long with safety on that coast ^s: but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which however was followed, of publishing in all the *Dutch* gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the storm, that abundance of horses had been thrown over board; that many persons of distinction, and particularly Dr. *Burnet* were cast away and drowned, which had the effect that was expected from it, of perswading such

^q History of the Revolution, by R. F. Histoire de Guillaume III. prince d'Orange. ^r Mercure Historique et Politique, Octobre, Novembre et Decembre 1688. ^s Burnet's History of his own times, vol. i.

such as were not in the secret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, and that it must be postponed for some months at least.

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneasy, and occasioned some very extraordinary proposals to the prince. Amongst the rest, one was, that admiral *Herbert*, with a stout squadron, should proceed to the *English* coast, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averse, but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of *Orange*, however, never altered his intention in the least; but having given the necessary orders for repairing the ships, and refreshing the troops, which was soon done, the fleet sailed again, upon the first of *November* u, and, as we have shewn elsewhere, arrived speedily and safely on the *English* coast, where, by the skill and care of admiral *Herbert*, the troops were very soon landed, and by his intelligence with several persons of distinction in the neighbourhood, amply supplied with provisions and other necessaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of several ships; the first of which was the *Newcastle*, lying at *Plymouth*, under the command of captain *Churchill* z, and the way being once broke, the seamen declared in general for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the success of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble person.

On the 8th of *March* 1688. king *William* granted a commission for executing the office of lord high admiral to the

^t Remarks upon the reign of William III. p. 17. ^u Life of William III. Kennet, Burchet, &c.
^z Remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

the following persons, viz. *Arthur Herbert*, esq; *John* earl of *Carbery*, sir *Michael Wharton*, sir *Thomas Lee*, baronet, sir *John Chicheley*, knight, sir *John Lowther*, of *Whitehaven*, baronet, and *William Sacheverel*, esq; but the last declined accepting that post, declaring, that, as he understood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the salary with a safe conscience ¹. As for the command of the fleet, that was intrusted with admiral *Herbert* from the beginning, and he had likewise the honour of bringing over the new queen ². We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the business of *Bantry-Bay* ³, of the motives which induced him to fight the *French* fleet, and of the consequences of that action, collected as well from the *French* as our historians: but after all, perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see the account published by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the *Elizabeth*, dated *May* the second, 1689, and which imported,

“ That admiral *Herbert* having refitted at *Milford-Haven* the damages which some of his ships had sustained by ill weather on the coast of *Ireland*, intended to go directly for *Brest*; but the wind coming easterly, which might bring the *French* fleet out, he stood on the twenty-fourth past, over to *Kinsale*, which he judged the likeliest way to meet them.

“ That accordingly, on the 29th, our scouts made signal that they discovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us likewise keep our own all night, to hin-

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¹ History of the proceedings of the house of lords, vol. i. p. 243. ² See the Naval History in 1689. ³ Printed in a sheet and a half in the Savoy.

" der them from getting into *Kinsale*. The thirtieth, they
 " heard the enemy was gone into *Baltimore*, being forty-
 " four sail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but
 " found there was no sign of them. That in the evening
 " our scouts got sight of them again to the westward of
 " *Cape Clear*: we steered after them, and found they
 " were got into the *Bantry*; we lay off the bay all night,
 " and the next morning, by break of day, stood in, where
 " we found them at anchor. That they got presently
 " under sail, and bore down upon our fleet, in a line com-
 " posed of twenty-eight men of war and five fireships.
 " That when they came within musket-shot of the *De-*
 " *fiance*, the headmost of our ships, the *French* admiral
 " put out the signal of battle, which was begun by them,
 " they firing their great and small shot very furiously on
 " the *Defiance*, and the rest, as we came in our line.
 " That then we made several boards to gain the wind, or
 " at least to engage them closer; but finding that way
 " of working very disadvantageous, admiral *Herbert* stood
 " off to sea, as well to have got our ships into a line, as to
 " have gained the wind of the enemy; but found them so
 " cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an op-
 " portunity of doing it; and in this posture continued
 " battering upon a stretch until five in the afternoon, when
 " the *French* admiral tacked from us, and stood away far-
 " ther into the bay.

" That admiral *Herbert's* ship, and some of the rest,
 " being disabled in their rigging, we could not follow
 " them, but we continued some time after before the bay,
 " and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this ac-
 " tion, captain *Aylmer* in the *Portland*, who came in soon
 " enough

“ enough for the battle, with others of the Squadron mentioned, and ninety-four seamen were killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a survey taken after the fight, and our ships received little damage except in their sails and rigging.

“ That as for our officers and seamen, that right must be done them, they behaved themselves with all the courage and cheerfulness that could be expected from the bravest men; and that, on the other side, without lessening the enemy, it may be said that they either wanted courage or skill to make use of the advantage of the place, the wind, their fireships, and their number, being at least double our force, they having eighteen ships, the least of which was as big as the *Elizabeth*; and it so happened at the time of the engagement, admiral *Herbert* had with him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. And that the fleet designed to rendezvous and refit at *Scilly*.”

As to the personal behaviour of admiral *Herbert* in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hottest of the service, himself had several of the largest of the enemy's ships upon him at a time, notwithstanding which he continued to expose himself to encourage the seamen sword in hand upon the quarter deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, insomuch, that many thought, that if the rest of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the *French* than they did. For which some officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; so much was the admiral a lover of discipline. On the

Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 19.

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the fifteenth of *May*, when the king dined on board his ship, he was pleased to express great satisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. on the twenty-ninth of the same month, by the title of baron *Herbert of Tisbury*, and earl of *Torrington*. The house of commons also were pleased to give him thanks for the service he had done the nation in taking the first opportunity to fight the *French* in *Bantry-Bay*.^d

THE reader will, without doubt, be better pleased to see this matter set in its true light from the journal of the house; in which it appears, that *Arthur Herbert* esq; then burgeiss for the town of *Plymouth*, in the county of *Devon*, and being in his place, had their thanks in consequence of an order made the *Saturday* before.

Martis 21^o. die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.

MR. speaker gave admiral *Herbert* the thanks of the house according to their order of *Saturday* last, to the effect as followeth, viz.

Admiral HERBERT,

“ THIS house hath taken notice of the great service
 “ you have performed in engaging the *French* fleet:
 “ they do look upon it as one of the bravest actions done
 “ in this last age, and expect it will raise the reputation
 “ of the *English* valour to its ancient glory. I do there-
 “ fore, by the command of this house, return you their
 “ hearty thanks for this service, and desire you that will
 VOL. III. U “ commu-

^c Burchet's naval history, Kennet's complete history of England, Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts.
^d Remarks on the reign of William III.

“ communicate the like thanks in their name to the officers and seamen that served under your command, and to let them know that this house will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement.”

WHEREUPON admiral *Herbert* spake to the effect as followeth.

S I R,

“ I AM in some confusion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, because I want words to express my sense of it. The best return that I think myself capable of making, is to assure this honourable house, that, with my utmost hazard, I will endeavour by my future actions, to deserve it, and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and seamen who were with me, of the favourable acceptance by this house of their service. And since the house have so favourable an opinion of their actions, I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the greatness of this nation, and indeed has been the care of almost all nations, that have any commerce at sea: it is to assign some place and revenue for the support of such as are maimed in the service and defence of their country. There is no sufficient provision made at present in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for the crown. I therefore humbly move, it may be ordered by this house, that an act may pass, that they may have a support and subsistence, after they have by wounds been made incapable of farther service.”

Resolved,

Resolved, 'That the house will take care to make a provision for such seamen as are, or shall be wounded in their majesties service, and for the wives and children of such as are, or shall be slain therein ; and that a committee be appointed to consider how the same may be done.

And it is referred to admiral *Herbert*, *mr. Hales*, *mr. Boscowen*, *mr. Ashburnham*, *sir William Williams*, *mr. Garway*, *mr. Elwel*, *lord Cooke*, *mr. Holles*, *mr. Papillon*, *mr. Gwyn*, *lord Falkland*, *lord Sherrard*, *mr. Bickerstaff*, *mr. Henry Herbert*, *mr. Edward Russel*, *mr. Bromley*, *mr. Tho. Foley*, *sir Duncan Colchester*, *mr. Leveson Gower*, *mr. P. Foleys*, *sir Henry Capell*, *sir Christopher Musgrave*, *mr. Sacheverell*, *mr. Cooke*, and *sir Thomas Littleton*.

As he was at this time possessed of all that a man could well desire ; the esteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the seamen, so it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his station, living very magnificently when in town, and shewing a great respect for his officers when at sea, which gained him a wonderful interest in the fleet ; to this, though some have given a sinister turn, as if it was the chief cause of his acquittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe that he could have gained such an interest, but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readiness to distinguish it in other men ; for which, while it was not in some degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous in the navy *. When he went down to take the command in the spring of the year 1690 of the confederate fleet, his character stood as fair as any

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* Inquiry into the conduct of maritime affairs since the Revolution, p. 31.

officer's could do; and even the *Dutch*, in their relations, allow, that his conduct was very great in shifting and avoiding an engagement in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great superiority, till such time as he received positive orders to fight; and then he shewed likewise great judgment in the disposition he made for an engagement f.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off *Beachy-head* on the 30th of *June*, except that in the battle there was not so much as one *English* man of war lost; and but one of the *Dutch*; that in the whole course of the retreat, the earl of *Torrington* gave his orders with great prudence, and in such a manner as prevented the *French* from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithstanding the inequality of the fleets, and some unlucky accidents that happened, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordship at all discomposed, when, upon his being sent for up to town, he found so general a clamour raised against him; but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters, before the council; insisted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him easy in his mind as to the consequences, being perswaded, that of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himself than to ruin the fleet, as he absolutely must have done, if he had acted otherwise than he did g. All he could say however, had little effect at that time, so that he was committed to the *Tower*, and commissioners were sent down to inspect into the condition of the fleet, and to make

f See the letter of admiral Evertson in the former part of this volume. g Remarks on the reign of William III.

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make the necessary enquiries for framing a charge against him, it being held absolutely requisite to bring him to a trial, that the justice of the nation might not suffer in the opinion of her allies, the resentment of the *Dutch* having risen so high as to threaten pulling down the house of lord *Durley*, who then resided at the *Hague*.^h

When the parliament met, *October* the second, 1690, his majesty was pleased to take notice in his speech, in a very particular manner of the disaster that had happened off *Beachy-head*; and the paragraph being but short, we shall insert it.^h “ I cannot conclude without taking notice also how much the honour of the nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer’s engagement against the *French*; and I think myself so much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest satisfied till an example has been made of such as shall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad; but is now put into the proper way of being done as soon as may be.” But notwithstanding this, the proceedings against the earl of *Torrington* were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himself by way of petition to the house of peers, who took his case into consideration; but after having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary course of proceedings; or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial. Yet, in order to the constituting of such a court, as we have elsewhere observed, there were some difficulties to be got over, and those

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^h Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 25.
ⁱ Debates in the house of commons, vol. ii. p. 384.

of such a nature as demanded the attention of the legislature; in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for vesting in the commissioners of the *Admiralty* the same power in regard to granting commissions, which was already vested by law, in the lord high admiral of *England*.

It may not be amiss to observe, that on the twentieth of *January* 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, was first lord, instead of the earl of *Torrington*, and sir *Michael Wharton* was left out. On the fifth of *June* 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to seven. These were *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *John* earl of *Carberry*, sir *Thomas Lee* baronet, sir *John Lowther* baronet, *Edward Ruffel* esq; sir *Richard Onslow* baronet, and *Henry Priestman* esq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer, of what rank soever, as a lord high admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the house of peers, it occasioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, instead of a new board, his majesty had appointed a lord high admiral; in which case, there would have been no need whatever of a new law: but at length, however, it was carried by a majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their protests for the following reasons¹.

“ BECAUSE this bill gives a power to commissioners
“ of the admiralty to execute a jurisdiction, which, by
“ the act of the thirteenth of *Charles* the Second, entitled,

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¹ See this act in the Statutes at large. ¹ The history and proceedings of the house of lords, vol. i. p. 405.

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“ *An Act for establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life for facts committed several months before this power was given or desired: we think it reasonable that every man should be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.*

“ *It is by virtue of the said act of the thirteenth of Charles II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this house not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm, for any offences committed against the said act; and there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the said earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act, making no mention of commissioners of the admiralty, but of a lord high admiral only, by whose authority all the powers given by that act are to be exercised, and without whose consent singly, no sentence of death can be executed, we think it of dangerous consequence to expound a law of this capital nature, otherwise than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to pass even explanatory laws, much less such as have a retrospect in them in cases of life and death, so we think it not at all necessary to make such a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way already established to bring this earl to a trial by a lord high-admiral.*

“ *Thirdly, the judges having unanimously declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power, or jurisdiction of the lord*

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“ high-admiral may be ascertained to that practice, is all
 “ that we know of it, we conceive it unprecedented, and
 “ of dangerous consequence, that the jurisdiction exercised
 “ by the lord-high-admiral, should by a law be declared to
 “ be in the commissioners of the admiralty, whereby an
 “ unknown, and therefore unlimited power may be esta-
 “ blished in them.”

*Rivers, Huntingdon, Rochester, Weymouth, Stamford,
 Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho. Roffen, Crew,
 Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton
 J. Bridgwater.*

As soon as the bill had passed both houses, and had received the royal assent, the earl of *Torrington* was removed out of the *Tower* into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty, where he had not been long, before he brought his case into the house of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the house, that this noble peer was desirous of being heard at their bar, in respect to the matter for which he was in custody. Upon this an order was made for his lordship's being brought thither the next day, the serjeant at arms was directed to serve the marshal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, *November* the twelfth, the house being informed, that his lordship was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the serjeant, with the mace, to a chair set for him within the bar, on the left hand of the house as he came in, and having sat down thereon for some time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordship rose, and stood at the back of the

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the chair uncovered, and was heard before the house; after which his lordship withdrew, the mace attending him k.

THIS is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of those times assures us, that his lordship found himself so much embarrassed in the presence of that assembly, as not to be able to express himself as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that being accustomed rather to act than to speak, he found himself at a loss for words, and therefore desired to make use of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's service, how many years he had spent therein, and of his having spill'd much blood, as well as been depriv'd of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loss he had sustained for supporting the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of *England* under king *James II.* Last of all, he spoke of the engagement with the *French* fleet off *Beachy-head*, in respect to which he excused his not fighting from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, shortness of wind, inequality of numbers; and in support of what he said, produced some letters; but all this was of little or no use to his lordship, the house remitted him to that trial, for which the late act had made way, and of which the highest expectations were raised at home and abroad, the king being resolved not to embark for *Holland* till it was all over l.

ACCORDINGLY, *Saturday* the sixth of *December* 1690, his lordship went down to *Sheerness* in his yacht, the court-martial sitting there on board the *Kent*: on *Monday*

^l Journal book of the house of commons, *die Martis*, Nov. 11. and *die Mercur.* Nov. 12, 1690. ¹ Impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

day, December 8, sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as president, the commission was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjusted, after which [the court adjourned to Wednesday the tenth, when the witnesses were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as English^o; but notwithstanding the loudness of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithstanding the court took all the pains they could to sift things to the bottom; his lordship then made his defence in the manner that has been before-mentioned, insisted largely on the superiority of the French fleet, on the shifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to succour the Dutch; on the care taken on securing a retreat, and the small advantage that the enemy reaped from their so much boasted success in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, count Tourville, as many censures as upon himself, and with pretty much the same reason. After mature consideration, both of the charge, of his defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occasion. It is said, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was present, expressed his resentment very warmly, and it is certain, the proceedings were, quickly after, printed in Dutch, with some animadversions.

ON Thursday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the Union flag flying, as bearing still the king's commission of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own house,

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• Minutes of the court-martial on board his majesty's ship the *Kent*, sir Ralph Delaval, president, December 8, 1690.

p Impartial account of some remarkable passages, &c.

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ARTHUR HERBERT. 315

where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news which could not surprize him much, that his commission was superseded. He was almost the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much less enjoyed any command afterwards †. He came, however, in a few days to the house of *Piers*, where he constantly attended the business of the nation, for above twenty years after this, without altering his conduct in the least, which is a manifest proof, that he was not governed by prejudice or caprice, but by principle. He was always on the side of the crown, and very rarely in an opposition to its ministers; sometimes however he was, and then he commonly protested, that the reasons of his opposition might appear, and that the world might not ascribe his disagreement with men in power, to spleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally most forward, and, in respect to them, the house heard him with attention, and upon such occasions he shewed himself commonly a friend to strict discipline †.

He raised, while in employment, a considerable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordship was twice married, but never had any children †; and at length, after having spent the latter part of his life, in as much privacy and quiet, as he had done the former scenes of it in action, he breathed his last, *April* the thirteenth 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his estate to the right honourable

‡ Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, life of king William, Oldmixon, &c. § History and proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 436, 444. vol. ii. p. 5, 22, 29, 46, 72, 74, 430.

† Peerage of England, printed for Abel Roper, London 1709, octavo p. 278.

able *Henry* earl of *Lincoln*, merely out of respect to that noble person's steady adherence to the same cause, which the earl of *Torrington* supported during his whole life*. These particulars, which had hitherto lain scattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmost diligence, gathered and digested according to the natural order of time, that the memory of so brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the best judges thought, without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living, it was to his power.

THESE, however scanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to discover from books or information, as to the eminent seamen who flourished in this reign, except it be a very few dates in respect to the following illustrious persons.

JOHN, lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, was the son of sir *John Berkley*, the faithful servant of king *Charles I.* and king *Charles II.* by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of *Stratton*, in the county of *Somerset*, and younger brother to *Charles* lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, who died at sea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the revolution, groom of the stole, and first gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince *George* of *Denmark*; and, as we have seen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of king *William*, and colonel of the second regiment of marines; of all which employments he was possessed, when he died *February* 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no issue male, so that the title devolved on his younger brother *William*, father to the present worthy nobleman *John* lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*." THE E

* Historical Register of that year. " Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 168.

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THE honourable *Edward Nevile*, esq; was the second son of *George lord Abergavenny*, and, notwithstanding his high birth, arrived at his station in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the *Lincoln* the twelfth of September, 1701, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, as his squadron made the land of *Virginia*, and left behind him a son, who is now lord *Abergavenny*, and a daughter [†].

WE cannot shut up our account of this reign better than by an abstract of the royal navy, as it stood at the decease of king *William*, that the reader, by comparing it with the abstract at the close of our last volume, may from thence discern how far, notwithstanding so long a war, and so many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force encreased in the space of thirteen years.

ABSTRACT of the royal navy, as it stood
December 25, 1701.

| Rates. | Number. | Guns. | Men. |
|--------------|---------|--------|--------|
| I. | 7 | 714 | 5,312 |
| II. | 14 | 1,276 | 8,824 |
| III. | 45 | 3,199 | 18,561 |
| IV. | 63 | 3,253 | 15,329 |
| V. | 36 | 1,094 | 4,680 |
| VI. | 29 | 542 | 1,215 |
| | 194 | 10,078 | 53,921 |
| Fire-ships | 8 | | |
| Bomb-vessels | 13 | | |
| Yachts | 10 | | |

[†] Collin's peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 12.

CHAP. III.

*Containing the naval history of GREAT BRITAIN,
from the accession of her majesty Queen ANNE,
to the Union of the two Kingdoms.*

WE are now come to that reign, under which the nation was extremely happy at home, and her reputation carried to the greatest height abroad. A reign that will always be remembered with honour, and make a shining figure in our histories, as long as histories shall last: a reign, in the beginning of which all party animosities were buried in oblivion, and the Tories seemed as sensible of the necessity of a war, as the Whigs, and as ready to carry it on; which was the true reason why it was prosecuted for so many years with such vigour and success, as had never attended our arms since the glorious days of Queen Elizabeth, and which ought therefore to convince us, that we are never to hope a thorough settlement at home, with an effectual support of our just claims to respect and freedom of commerce abroad, until there is a new and thorough coalition of parties, founded not in private views but arising from public spirit, and all men are taught to think that he is a public enemy, who avows any other interest than that of his country.

QUEEN Anne acceded to the throne on the eighth of March, 1701-2, in the flower of her age, if we consider her dignity, being then about thirty-eight. She had shewn

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a very just moderation in her conduct from the time of the revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the state, with that which she bore to her family; of which she gave a remarkable instance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the island of *Sicily*, for her cousin the duke of *Savoy*. She opened her reign by a very wise and well-considered speech to her privy-council, in which she declared, how sensible she was of the unspeakable loss the nation had sustained by the death of the late king, and the burden it brought upon herself, which nothing, she said, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern she had for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country: and that no pains should be wanting on her part, to defend and support them, and to maintain the protestant succession. She declared her opinion for carrying on the preparations against *France*, and supporting the allies; and said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution and establishment^a.

IN pursuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the states-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the steps of her predecessor, in the maintenance of the common cause against the common enemy: and as a farther

^a It is very remarkable, that the conduct of the Queen at the beginning of her reign, was such, as gave the highest satisfaction to all parties; for she avoided the error of Nero, by neither screwing up the strings of government too high, nor letting them run too low. It had been happy for her, and for her subjects, if she had steadily pursued this conduct through the course of her reign, instead of putting herself into the hands of one party first, and then of another; both which had very ill consequences, with respect to her majesty's quiet, and to the good of her subjects. This reflection I thought necessary here,

farther proof of her sincerity, she declared the earl of *Marlborough*, whom the late king had sent ambassador and plenipotentiary to the *States*, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband. She likewise appointed sir *George Rooke*, vice-admiral of *England*, and *George Churchill*, esq; admiral of the *Blue*, in the room of *Matthew Aylmer*, esq; afterwards lord *Aylmer*, whom we have mentioned already, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak very honourably hereafter. These steps were sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions, and therefore we have all the reason in the world to believe, that the queen had a very good design in placing her consort, *George* prince of *Denmark*, at the head of the *Admiralty*; though to do this it was found requisite to remove the earl of *Pembroke*, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to sea. It is true, a large pension was offered him; but his lordship answered, with great generosity and public spirit, that however convenient it might be for his private interest, yet the accepting such a pension was inconsistent with his principles; and therefore, since he could not have the honour of serving his country in *person*, he would endeavour to do it by *his example*^b.

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here, because, by inserting it, I shall avoid the necessity of being obliged to say something like it, on several other occasions.

^b The advancement of the earl of *Pembroke* to this eminent dignity of lord high admiral of *England*, as it was not owing at all to court favour, but merely, as I have hinted before, to the expediency of laying that board aside, and lodging the power of it in a single hand. There were few of our nobility who could have been competitors for such an office, and none that with justice could be preferred to the earl of *Pembroke*. He had much prudence which tempered great vivacity in his constitution, and zeal for the service of his country, which

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THE new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commission, viz. *sir George Rooke*, *sir David Mitchel*, *George Churchill*, esq; and *Richard Hill*, esq; who were to assist him with their advice, and also in the execution of his office. How far all this was legal, has been, and, I believe, will remain, very doubtful; but at that time nobody questioned it, and therefore we shall proceed to shew what was done under it, observing, as near as may be, the order of time in which events fell out, and that method in relating them, which is most likely to set them in a proper point of light.

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which was very observable in all his actions, though he did not make so much shew of it, as others might do in words. He had a steadiness of mind, not to be shaken by power or titles, and a virtue so heroic, that neither the vices of these, or of worse times, could corrupt. He shewed on this occasion, his loyalty as well as spirit; for though he refused a pension, yet through the course of her reign, he served the queen with the same chearfulness and fidelity, as if he had retained his post; and therefore, in 1708, when prince George of Denmark died, her majesty restored him to it. A full proof of her removing him at this time from no other motive than that of making way for her consort, who had been several times mentioned for that high post in the late reign.

It is not easy to find a reason why, since the illegality of this commission was so quickly suspected, it should afterwards lie so long asleep, and then be revived again, as soon as complaints were made to parliament of the conduct of the navy. Those who advised this commission, and those who drew it, were certainly very much to blame; and since this is a charge of a high nature, and against great men, I think myself obliged to explain it particularly. As king William's creating a lord high admiral was a benefit to the public, so queen Anne's commission was an injury to it. For, by appointing prince George of Denmark a council, she established again that evil which king William took away; and whereas, the powers of the lords commissioners of the admiralty

THE first expedition in the new reign, was that of sir *John Munden*, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of *French* ships, that were to sail from the *Groyne*, in order to carry the new vice-roy of *Mexico* to the *Spanish West-Indies*. This design was contrived by the earl of *Pembroke*, and sir *John* was made choice of on account of his known courage and conduct, as well as zeal and diligence, in the service. He sailed on the twelfth of *May*, 1702. with eight ships of the third rate, the *Salisbury* a fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at sea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which hitherto had been absolutely secret. On the sixteenth he found himself on the coast of *Galicie*; whereupon he sent the *Salisbury* and *Dolphin* to gain intelligence in which they failed. He then sent them a second time, and they brought off a *Spanish* boat and a *French* bark, with several prisoners, who asserted, that there were thirteen *French* ships of war, bound from *Rochelle* to the *Groyne*, and therefore sir *John* issued the necessary orders for keeping his squadron between them and the shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. These orders were issued on the twenty seventh, and the very next day he discovered fourteen sail between cape *Prior* and cape *Ortugal*, close under the shore, to whom he instantly gave chase; but they out-sailed him very much, got into the *Groyne* before he could possibly come up with them. Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that (since the accounts they had received

rality were settled by an express act of parliament, here was a new board established, vested with like powers; but those unknown to the law, which could take notice only of the lord high admiral, notwithstanding that this council of his, was appointed by his commission.

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received from their prisoners agreed perfectly well, and seemed to make it clear, that there were no less than seventeen of the enemy's ships of war in the harbour, which was strongly fortified, and had a narrow and dangerous entrance) it was therefore most expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed, in case they could do nothing on the coast of *Spain*, to repair into the *Soundings*, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of *Admiralty* immediately. This *sir John* accordingly did, about the middle of *June*; but then the Squadron being much distressed for provisions, it was found necessary, on the twentieth of that month to repair into port d.

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d Burchet's naval history, p. 613. where he observes, that after chasing these fourteen sail into the Groyne, *sir John Munden* called a council of war, in which his captains took into consideration,

"I. The intelligence from a person who belonged to a French merchant ship, from *Rochel'e*, and some Spaniards taken from the shore; the former affirming, that when he came from *Rochelle*, he left there twelve ships of war in the road, ready to sail to the Groyne with the first fair wind; that one of them had seventy guns, one fifty, and all the rest sixty; and that the *Faulcon* (a fourth rate taken from us the last year) was going thither before them.

"II. That the Spaniards are very positive the duke of *Albuquerque* was at the Groyne with two thousand soldiers, and that there were already in that port, three French ships of war of fifty guns each, and twelve more expected from *Rochelle*; and since both these accounts so well agreed, and it was judged there were seventeen ships of war in the port, that the place was so strongly fortified, and the passage thereinto very difficult, it was unanimously determined, that they could not be attempted there, with any probability of success; and that, by remaining in the station, they could not have any prospect of doing service: so that it was judged proper to repair into the soundings for protecting the trade."

THE miscarriage of this design made a very great noise : It was discovered that only eight of the twelve ships that had been chased into the *Grayne*, were men of war, and that the rest were only transports : It was also said, that sir *John Munden* had called off the *Salisbury* when she was actually engaged with a *French* man of war, and that he had discharged the prisoners he had taken very precipitately. To quash these Reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world (which is, to be sure, the best Method in all such cases) the high admiral prince *George* issued his commission for a court-martial, for the trial of sir *John Munden*, at which several persons of distinction were present.

THIS court sat on board her majesty's ship the *Queen* at *Spithead*, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1702, where were present sir *Cloudefly Shovel*, admiral of the *White*, president, and the captains following, viz. *Cole*, *Myngs*, *Leake*, *Greenhill*, *Turwill*, *Swanton*, *Good*, *Mayne*, *Kerr*, *Clarke*, *Ward*, *Cooper*, *Bridges*, *Maynard*, *Crow*, *Littleton*, and *Hollyman*, who being all sworn, and having examined the several articles exhibited against rear-admiral *Munden*, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himself from the whole matter contained in them ; and, as far as it appeared to the court, had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence in the service. But, notwithstanding this acquittal, it was thought necessary to lay him aside, that the strickness and impartiality of the new administration might the better appear. Bishop *Burnet* indeed charges sir *John Munden* roundly with stupidity and cowardice, and blames sir *George Rooke* more than

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than he, for having recommended such a man^e. But
 mr. *Oldmixon*, who was of the same party with the bishop,
 is pleased to suggest, that it was not so much for any fault
 he had committed, but because he was not in *George*
Rooke's good graces, that *John Munden* was dismissed^d.

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• This is so harsh a charge, that I find myself obliged to sup-
 port it, by citing the bishop's own words, which are these.

“ Advice was sent over from Holland, of a fleet that had
 “ sailed from France, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne.
 “ *Munden* was recommended by *Rooke*, to be sent against this
 “ fleet; but though he came up to them, with a superior
 “ force, yet he behaved himself so ill, and so unsuccessfully,
 “ that a council of war was ordered to sit on him. They, in,
 “ deed, acquitted him; some excusing themselves, by saying,
 “ that if they had condemned him, the punishment was death;
 “ whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense,
 “ so that it would have been hard to condemn him for a de-
 “ fection of that, which nature had not given him. Those who
 “ recommended him to the employment, seemed to be more in
 “ fault.” But mr. secretary *Burchet*, who to be sure was bet-
 ter acquainted with all the proceedings on this affair, than
 the bishop could possibly be, delivers his judgment in these
 words. “ This was a very unlucky accident; yet the same
 “ misfortune might have happened to any other good officer as
 “ well as *John Munden*, who (to do him justice) had, du-
 “ ring his long service in the fleet, behaved himself with zeal,
 “ courage, and fidelity; and though himself and all the cap-
 “ tains in his squadrons, did unanimously conclude, that at
 “ least twelve of the fourteen ships which they chased into the
 “ Groyne, were men of war, their number agreeing exactly
 “ with the Intelligence from several persons taken from the
 “ shore; yet, even in that case, it is reasonable to think, that
 “ he would have given a very good account of this affair,
 “ could he possibly have come up with them.” *Naval History*
 p. 613. f *Oldmixon's* history of England, vol. ii. p. 289.
 It is very remarkable, that though these two writers flatly con-
 tradict one another; yet they agree in having each a stroke at
George Rooke; but as their poisons are opposite, so they
 very happily prove antidotes to each other.

For my own part, I am inclined to believe what the president and council of war declared upon their oaths, that this gentleman did his duty as far as he could, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me, if I could account as well for every miscarriage that I shall be obliged to relate in the course of this work.

ON the fourth of *May* 1702, her majesty declared war against *France* and *Spain*; this was while sir *John Munden* was abroad, and I mention it, because this declaration was thought necessary before the grand fleet sailed; the design of which, as far as I am able to judge, has been hitherto very imperfectly accounted for. The great view of king *William*, for it was by him the *Cadiz* expedition had been concerted was to prevent the *French* from getting possession of the *Spanish West-Indies*; or at least to prevent their keeping them long, if they did. With this view he resolved to send a grand fleet, under the command of the then high admiral the earl of *Pembroke*, with a body of land forces, under the command of the duke of *Ormond*, on board, to make themselves masters of *Cadiz*. By this means, and by the help of a squadron he had lent into the *West-Indies*, and which was to have been followed by another, as soon as *Cadiz* was taken, he hoped this might be effected; and he knew very well, if this could be once done, an end would be put to all the *French* designs, and they must be obliged to terminate the matter, to the satisfaction, at least, of the maritime powers. The scheme was undoubtedly very well laid, and the secret surprizingly well well kept; for though the preparing of so great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal* too, then in alliance with *France* and *Spain*, had equal

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cause to be alarmed; which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all those countries, as will hereafter fully appear.

AFTER the queen's accession, sir *George Rooke*, (as we observed) was declared admiral of this fleet, vice admiral, and lieutenant of the *Admiralty of England*, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom: the duke of *Ormond* remained, as before, general of the land forces, and the *Dutch* having joined the fleet with their squadron, which had also its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoisted the union flag on board the *Royal Sovereign* on the thirtieth of *May*, 1702, and on the first of *June* his royal highness the prince of *Denmark* dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was soon in a condition to sail. Besides sir *George Rooke*, there were the following flags, viz. vice-admiral *Hopson*, who carried a *Red* flag at the fore-top-mast-head of the *Prince George*; rear-admiral *Fairbourne*, who carried the *White* at the mizen-top-mast-head of the *St. George*; and rear-admiral *Graydon*, who carried the *Blue* flag in the same manner in the *Triumph*. There were five *Dutch* flags, viz. two lieutenant-admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear. The strength of this fleet consisted in thirty *English*, and twenty *Dutch* ships of the line, exclusive of small vessels and tenders, which made in all about 160 sail. As to the troops, the *English* consisted of 9663, including officers, and the *Dutch* of 4138, in all 13801 g.

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g That this was a very great force, and that the public had reason to frame great expectations to themselves, as to its success, all the world must allow: but, on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us so far as to resolve

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328 NAVAL HISTORY

On the nineteenth of *June*, the fleet weighed from *Spithead*, and came to an anchor at *St. Helen's*. On the twenty-second the two rear-admirals, *Fairbourne* and *Graydon*, were detached with a squadron of thirty *English* and *Dutch* ships, with instructions first to look into the *Groynes*, and in case there were any *French* ships there, to block them up; but if not, to cruise ten or twelve leagues N. W. off *Cape Finisferre*, till they should be joined by the fleet.

On the tenth of *August* the fleet reached the rock of *Lisbon*, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before *Cadix*, and anchored at the distance of two leagues from the city, fir *Thomas Smith*, quarter-master-general, having viewed and sounded the shore on the backside of the *Isle of Leon*, in which *Cadix* stands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a descent: the duke of *Ormond* vehemently insisted in a council of war, upon landing in that isle, in order to a sudden and vigorous attack of the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprize would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea officers, opposing the duke's motion, it was resolved, that the army should first take the fort of *St. Katherine*, and *Port St. Mary*, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to *Cadix*. The next Day the duke of *Ormond* sent a Trumpet with a letter to the duke *de Brancaccio*, the governor, whom the duke had known in the

not to be satisfied with a just account of their disappointment. Bishop Burnet says, that fir George Rooke spoke coldly of the expedition before he sailed; and this he tells us, to prove that fir George intended to do the enemy no hurt. But the mischief lies here, that fir George suspected they should do no great good, because this expedition was of a doubtful nature; for on the one hand they were enjoined to speak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the same time were ordered to act against them as foes.

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the *Spanish* service, in the last confederate war : but in answer to the letter, inviting him to submit to the house of *Austria*; *Brancaccio* declared, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust that was reposed in him by the king^h. On the fifteenth of *August*, the duke of *Ormond* landed his forces in the bay of *Bull's*, above a mile on the left of *St. Katherine's* fort, the cannon of which fired on his men all the while, but with little execution. The first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier *Pallant*, and the earl of *Donnegall*; they were obliged to wade to the shore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain *Jumper* in the *Lenox*, and some *English* and *Dutch* light frigates, kept firing on the horse that appeared near the coast, and they were soon after repulsed by the *English* foot. The duke of *Ormond*, as soon as the troops were landed, sent to summon fort *St. Katherine*; but the governor replied, he had cannon mounted, with powder and ball sufficient to receive him. On the sixteenth the whole army marched to a camp marked

^h The reader will be better satisfied as to this matter, if he consults the collections of *Lamberti*, to. A. ii. p. 251. When the duke of *Ormond* summoned Fort *St. Katherine*, he declared, that if the governor did not accept his terms, he should be hanged, and none of his soldiers receive quarter. To this, the governor answered with great spirit and justice, " That if he must be hanged, it was all one to him, whether by the duke of *Ormond*, or the governor of *Cadiz*; and therefore he desired leave to send to him for his orders, which was refused." These quick proceedings, instead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the house of *Austria*, rendered them averse to it. At least, this was sir *George Rooke's* sentiment, who did all he could to serve the common cause without provoking the people of that country, whom his instructions directed him to protect.

marked out for them near *La Rotta*, a town within a league of the place, where they landed, from which most of the inhabitants were fled; but strict orders being given against plundering, many of them returned; and, had the *Spaniards* given due attention to the duke's declaration, published at his first coming on the *Spanish* coast, they needed not to have been in any consternation.

THE duke of *Ormond* having left a garrison of three hundred men in *La Rotta*, marched on the twentieth of *August* towards *Port St. Mary's*. Some Squadrons of *Spanish* horse, about six hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant colonel *Gore's* horse, amongst the dragoons, but retir'd on the approach of the *English* grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel *Pierce*, of the guards, were sent to take *Fort St. Katherine*; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty *Spaniards* prisoners of war. The duke entered port *St. Mary's*, attended by most of the general officers, viz. sir *Henry Bellassis*, lieutenant-general; the earl of *Portmore*, sir *Charles Hara*, and baron *Spaar*, majors-general; colonel *Seymour*, colonel *Lloyd*, colonel *Matthews*, colonel *Hamilton*, and colonel *Pallant*, now brigadiers general: and notwithstanding the strict orders the duke had issued against plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which sir *Henry Bellassis* and sir *Charles Hara* were put under arrest. When they came to *England*, *Bellassis* was dismissed the service; and though *Hara* escaped publick censure, he did not private. *Mr. Methuen*, her majesty's envoy in *Portugal*, in a letter to the duke of *Ormond*, dated *August* the first gave this wholesome advice concerning the conduct of the army: that the point of greatest importance, was, to insinuate

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to the *Spaniards*, and shew by their proceeding, that they came not as enemies to *Spain*, but only to free them from *France*, and give them assistance to establish themselves under the government of the house of *Austria*. It being found too difficult to approach *Cadiz* while the *Spaniards* were in possession of *Matagorda* fort, over-against the *Puntal*, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected against it; but upon every firing, the guns sunk into the sands, and after a fruitless attempt, the design was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the best of their way home. The *Spaniards* did indeed endeavour to disturb them in their retreat, but with very little success; a detachment of *English* and *Dutch* troops, under the command of colonel *Fox*, having quickly repulsed them, with the loss of a few of their horse, who were the most forward in the attack, which discouraged the rest so, that few or none of our people were lost in getting aboard their ships.

In most of our historians, the *Cadiz* expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of sir *George Rooke* in particular. As to the disorders

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ⁱ The truth of the matter was, that the confederates found *Cadiz* in a much better situation than they expected, themselves worse received than they hoped, and the general officers so much divided in their opinions, that a retreat was thought more adviseable than any other measure in a council of war. If sir *George Rooke*, before he put to sea foresaw any of the difficulties they then met with, few people at this time of day, I believe, think such a foresight a discredit to him, either as a statesman or an admiral. As to his own conduct, he was called to an account for it before the house of lords, and, as we shall see elsewhere, defended it so well, that no imputation could be fixed upon him.

at *St. Mary's*, of which we shall hear much more in another place, they did not at all affect *sir George Rooke*, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not pursue with great eagerness the burning the ships, or destroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct. Bishop *Burnet* charges him with it flatly, and says, that, before he went out, he had in a manner determined not to do the enemy much hurt. I believe this prelate spoke as he thought; but as to *sir George*, I am thoroughly persuaded, that when he went out, and while he was out, he intended nothing more or less, than to obey his instructions. As to the spirit of these, we may easily guess at it from the passage in *Mr. Methuen's* letter, before cited, which very fully shews, that this expedition was originally concerted on a supposition, that the *Spaniards* had a natural affection for the house of *Austria*, and would join with us in their favour against the *French*. But in this it seems we were mistaken; and yet it was not thought proper to make this conclusion too hastily, especially after what passed at *Port St. Mary's*, which, considering the disposition of the nation, might be presumed to have provoked the *Spaniards* to a degree not to be appeased by all the fine words we gave them in our manifesto. A candid reader will therefore easily discern the true reason of *sir George's* conduct. He thought it madness to expose the lives of the queen's subjects where they might be spared to better advantage; and therefore was not over fond of burning towns, and cutting throats, to convince the *Spaniards* of our hearty affection for them; which, however, was the language of

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our declarations and his instructions. ^{p.} Mr. Oldmixon therefore concludes, after a candid relation of facts, very justly, and like a man of honour, that however the nation's expectations might be disappointed in the *Cadix* expedition, yet there was nothing blameable in the conduct either of the duke of *Ormond* or sir *George Rooke*. ^{m.} Foreign writers do the same justice to our commanders, and even such of those authors as are visibly in the *French* interest; so that if we decide according to evidence, it is impossible for us to join in that clamour which discontented people raised upon this occasion ^{m.}

W H I L E

* This is the substance of sir George Rooke's defence before the house of lords, who enquired into this affair, and addressed the queen that the duke of *Ormond* and sir George Rooke might lay the whole transaction before them, which was done in the beginning of the next year, and what I have offered in the text, is only to avoid repetitions. A more distinct account of the enquiry will be found in the memoirs of sir George Rooke in the succeeding volume.

† History of England, vol. ii. p. 292. The reader will observe, that I lay hold of every opportunity of doing justice to our historians, and therefore, I hope will believe, that whenever I differ with them, it is purely out of respect to truth. ^m The French historians say, that the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, whom the emperor had appointed general and commander in chief of such Spaniards as should manifest their fidelity to the house of Austria, did little or no service by the violent memorials which he published, filled with personal reproaches and warm threats against such as adhered to king Philip. At first, however, it is admitted, that the Spaniards did not shew any great zeal for their new prince; but after they were provoked by the barbarities committed at the port of St. Mary, they lost all patience, and fought with such bitterness and indignation, as is scarce to be expressed. The same historians say, that the duke of *Ormonde*, and his forces, when they attacked *Matagordafort*, were exposed to a prodigious fire from the place, while they were able to form no better battery than two field-pieces, and two small mortars, the ground being so swampy as not to bear heavy artillery. *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iii. p. 702. *Limieres*, tom. iii. p. 101. *Larrey*, tom. iii. p. 544.

WHILE the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces safely home, providence put it in his power to do his country a more signal and effectual service, than even the taking of *Cádiz* would have been. Captain *Hardy*, who commanded her majesty's ship the *Pembroke*, was sent to water in *Lagos* bay, where he learnt from his conversation with the *French* consul, who sought it in order to boast of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was. Soon after arrived an express from *Lisbon*, with letters for the prince of *Hesse* and Mr. *Methuen*; which, when he understood they were no longer on board the fleet, he refused to deliver, and actually carried them back to *Lisbon*. In discourse, however, he told captain *Hardy*, that the galleons, under the convoy of a *French* squadron, put into *Vigo* the sixteenth of *September*. Captain *Hardy* made what haste he could with this news to the fleet, with which he however did not meet until the third of *October*, and even then the wind blew so hard, that he found it impossible to speak with the admiral till the sixth, when he informed him of what he had heard. Upon this sir *George* called a council of war immediately, composed of the *English* and *Dutch* flag-officers, by whom it was resolved to sail, as expeditiously as possible, to the port of *Vigo*, and attack the enemy. In order to this, some small vessels were detached to make a discovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the *Kent's* boat; and the captain understood that *Monf. Chasteau-Rencul's* squadron of *French* men of war, and the *Spanish* galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as *Cape Finisferre*, and it

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came not before the place till the eleventh of *October* 2. The passage into the harbour was not above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight brass, and twelve iron guns on the north side, and on the south was a platform of twenty brass guns and twenty iron guns, as also a stone fort, with a breast-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one side of the harbour to the other, a strong boom composed of ships yards and top-masts, fastened together with three-inch rope, very thick, and underneath with hausers and cables. The top chain at each end was moored to a seventy gun ship, the one was called the *Hope*, which had been taken from the *English*, and the other was the *Bourbon*. Within the boom were moored five ships of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the passage, so as that they might fire at any ship that came near the boom, forts, and platform*. The admirals removed the flags from the

* After reading this account, it must surprize any man to hear, that bishop Burnet charges the admiral with want of diligence, neglect of duty, and a dislike to this service; when nothing can be plainer, than, that he acted throughout the whole of this business, with all imaginable vigour, and that if he had been inclined to do otherwise, he had the fairest opportunities that could possibly have offered for avoiding or delaying the attack.

° The French writers are very copious in their description of the measures taken by the French admiral for the defence of the fleet; and indeed it must be allowed that the disposition was as good as the place would admit. The count de Chateau Renault, was a very gallant and experienced officer; and if, as these writers say, his reputation was heightened by this accident, then it plainly proves, that our officers acted as well as men could be expected to act. *Histoire Militaire*, tom. iii. p. 717. *Rapin Thoyras continue*, tom. xi. p. 487. *Memoires historiques, & chronologiques*.

great ships into third rates, the first and second rates being all too big to go in. Sir *George Rooke* went out of the *Royal Sovereign* into the *Somerset*; admiral *Hopson* out of the *Prince George* into the *Torbay*; admiral *Fairborne* out of the *St. George* into the *Effex*, and admiral *Graydon* out of the *Triumph* into the *Northumberland*. A detachment of fifteen *English*, and ten *Dutch* men of war, with all their fireships, frigates, and bomb-vessels, were ordered to go upon the service p.

THE duke of *Ormond*, to facilitate this attack, landed, on the south side of the river, at the distance of about six miles from *Vigo*, two thousand five hundred men, then lord *Shannon* at the head of five hundred men attacked a stone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himself master of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the *French* governor, mons. *Sexel*, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a resolution to have forced his way through the *English* troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no sooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place sword in hand,

p It is perfectly clear from his manner of making this attack, that sir *George Rooke* had the honour of his country as much at heart as any man could have; and it is very strange, that among so many observations, nobody should take notice of the great prudence shewn in the forming this disposition, and the courage and alacrity of the admirals, in quitting the large ships, that they might have a share in the danger, as well as in the reputation, of this action. If it had miscarried, we should have had reflections enough on the admiral's mistakes in this matter; and, methinks, it is a little hard to pass in silence this extraordinary mark of his conduct. and leave it to be commended, as it is, by the *Dutch* historians only; as if they alone knew how to value merit, and we were concerned only to lessen and traduce it.

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hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of *French* and *Spaniards*, in number about three hundred and fifty, to surrender prisoners of War. This was a conquest of great importance, and obtained much sooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwise have prevented it, since they had in the neighbourhood a body of at least ten thousand men, under the command of the prince of *Brabant*. It was likewise of great consequence in respect to the fleet, since our ships would have been excessively galled by the fire from that platform and fort 4.

As soon therefore, as our flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced, and vice-admiral *Hopson* in the *Torbay*, crowding all the sail he could, ran directly against the boom, broke it, and then the *Kent*, with the rest of the squadron, *English* and *Dutch*, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ships and batteries on shore, till the latter was possessed by our grenadiers, who seeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible resolution. In the mean time one of the enemy's fireships had laid the *Torbay* on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fireship had a great quantity of snuff on board, which extinguished the flames when she came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not absolutely escape. Her fore-top-mast was shot by the board, most of the sails burnt or scorched, the fore-yard burnt to a coal, the larboard shrouds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead-eyes, several ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-side entirely scorched.

Vol. III.

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4 The French writers say, that at the first appearance of the duke of Ormonde's grenadiers, the Spanish militia threw down their arms, and fled; and they likewise admit, that they forced their way on the opening the gate, as is asserted in our accounts.

one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned ; of whom about sixty jumped over-board as soon as they were grappled by the fire-ship. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the *Monmouth*, and hoisted his flag there. In the mean time Captain *William Bokenham*, in the *Association*, a ship of ninety guns, lay with her broadside to the battery on the left of the harbour, which was soon disabled ; and Captain *Francis Bell*, in the *Barfleur*, a ship of the same force, was sent to batter the fort on the other side, which was a very dangerous and troublesome service, since the enemy's shot pierced his ship through and through, and for some time he durst not fire a gun, because our troops were between him and the fort ; but they soon drove the enemy from their post, and then the struggle was between the *French* firing, and our Men endeavouring to save their ships and the galleons. In this dispute the *Association* had her main-mast shot, two men killed ; the *Kent* had her fore-mast shot, and the boatswain wounded ; the *Barfleur* had her main-mast shot, two men killed, and two wounded ; the *Mary* had her bowsprit shot. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four superior officers wounded ; a very inconsiderable loss, considering that the enemy had fifteen *French* men of war, two frigates, and a fire-ship, burnt, sunk, or taken ; as were also seventeen galleons. As for the particulars of the enemy's loss, and of what we gained

• It is very apparent from this account, that the action was extremely warm, and that all who were concerned in it, did their duty ; and if we consider how many attempts of the same kind failed in the former reign, and with how small a loss this great action was achieved, we shall be satisfied that our admirals deserved the highest commendation.

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* French ships taken, burnt, and run ashore.

| Ships burnt. | No. of guns. |
|----------------|--------------|
| Le Fort | 76 |
| L'Enflame | 64 |
| Le Prudent | 62 |
| Le Solide | 56 |
| La Dauphine | 46 |
| L'Enterprenant | 22 |
| La Choquante | 8 |

334

Le Favori, a fireship
Eight advice boats.

Taken by the ENGLISH, and brought home.

| | |
|-------------|----|
| Le Prompt | 76 |
| Le Firme | 72 |
| L'Esperance | 70 |
| L'Assurè. | 66 |

284

Taken by the DUTCH.

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|---------------|----|
| Le Bourbon | 68 |
| Le Superbe | 70 |
| La Sirene | 60 |
| Le Modere | 56 |
| Le Voluntaire | 46 |
| Le Triton. | 42 |

342

Total, ships 21. guns 960

Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. As to the wealth on board the galleons, we never had any exact account of it. It is certain, that the

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Spanish

THIS event gave a great deal of trouble to the *Paris* gazetteer : when he first spoke of this misfortune, he affirmed, that all the plate was carried on shore and secured, and that we had five men of war sunk in the attack. Afterwards he retracted the first part of the tale, and owned that a little silver was taken ; but then he added, that nine of our ships were wrecked in their return, and all their men lost ; which shews how great an impression this loss made on those who had the direction of this gazette. Father *Daniel* gives a pretty fair account of this matter, and a late *French* historian very candidly owns, that by this blow the naval power of *France* was so deeply wounded, as that she never recovered it during the war^t.

THERE were certain circumstances attending this success of ours at *Vigo*, which heightened its lustre not a little. Our statesmen had all along kept their eyes upon the galleons, and had actually fitted out a squadron on purpose to intercept them, under the command of sir *Cloudefley Shovel*. Orders likewise had been sent to sir *George Rooke*, by the earl of *Nottingham*, which never reached him ; and after all their precautions, sir *Cloudefley Shovel's* squadron would scarce have been strong enough to have undertaken so

Spanish and *French* ships had been twenty-five days in *Vigo* harbour, before the confederates arrived there, in which time, they debarked the best part of the plate and rich goods, and sent them up the country. The galleons had on board when they arrived, twenty millions of pieces of eight, besides merchandize, which was thought of equal value. Of the silver, fourteen millions were saved, of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were destroyed, with ten millions of merchandize ; and about two millions in silver, and five in goods, were brought away by the English and Dutch. ^t See the compleat history of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 391.

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so dangerous an enterprize. Yet bishop *Burnet*, not at all dazzled with the brightness of this exploit, tells us, that sir *George Rooke* performed this service very unwillingly, and did not make the use of it he might have done; in which, no doubt, he was imposed on, since the fact, upon which he grounds it, is certainly false.

SIR *Claudefley Shovel* arrived on the sixteenth of *October*, as the troops were embarking, and the admiral left him at *Vigo*, with orders to see the *French* men of war and the galleons that we had taken, and that were in a condition to be brought to *England*, carefully rigged, and properly supplied with men. He was likewise directed to burn such as could not be brought home, and to take all the care he could to prevent embezzlements; and having appointed a strong squadron for this service, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet, and one of the *Spanish* galleons, sailed home, and arrived in the *Downs* on the seventh of *November*, 1702, from whence the great ships were about the middle of the month, sent round to *Chatham*.^w

SIR *Claudefley Shovel*, in the space of a week, put the *French* men of war, and other prizes, into the best condition possible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the *Mary*, and brought along with him the *Dartmouth*, which had been taken from us

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^u If sir *George Rooke* had been so negligent as the bishop makes him, we had certainly never heard of the *Spanish* fleet at *Vigo* at all; for though the bishop says, that the admiral sent to none of the ports (whereas, expresses were sent to them all from *Lisbon*) yet the matter of fact is clearly this, that sir *George* sent captain *Hardy* to *Lagos Bay*, and there he met, with the only express that was sent from *Lisbon*; so that here we have a charge, not only without proof, but directly in the teeth of proof.

^w *Burche, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.*

in the last war, and was now made prize by captain *Wyvill*; but as there was another ship of that name in the navy, this prize was called the *Vigo*. He also took out of the *French* ships that were run on shore, fifty brass guns, and brought off sixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the twenty-fourth of *October*, he set fire to the ships he could not bring away. The next day he left *Vigo*, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and *Bayonne*, where he sent several prisoners on shore with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their stead ².

On the twenty-seventh of *October*, he was again under sail, intending to have passed through the north channel; but the wind taking him short, he was obliged to pass through that which lies to the south, where the galleon, which was the *Monmouth's* prize, struck upon a rock, and foundered; but there being several frigates on each side of her, all her men were saved except two. He was the very same day joined by the *Dragon*, a fifty gun ship, commanded by captain *Holyman*, which had been attacked by a *French* man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at last brought her safe into the fleet. In their passage they had extream bad weather, and though the *Nassau* had the good fortune to make a very rich prize which was coming from *Morlaix*, yet that vessel foundered the next morning, and the weather was then so bad, that

² This squadron sailed from Spithead, the 29th of September, 1702. Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs, November 7th; and sir Cloudesley sailed the 25th of *October* from *Vigo*, and arrived on the 10th of November, off the Isle of Wight. See the London Gazette, No. 3861.

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that the Squadron separated, every ship shifting for itself; though all had the good luck to get safe to *England*, but in a very shattered condition ^y.

W^e have now attended the grand fleet throughout the whole expedition, and are next to mention what was performed by several detachments made for particular services. Among these the Squadron commanded by captain *John Leake*, claims the first notice. On the twenty-fourth of *June*, 1702, he received instructions from his royal highness to proceed to *Newfoundland*, with a small Squadron, in order to protect the trade, annoy the enemy, and bring the homeward-bound ships under his convoy. He sailed in pursuance of these instructions, and arrived in *Plymouth Sound* on the twenty second of *July*, where having gained the best intelligence he could, as to the state of our own affairs, and of those of the enemy, he so effectually pursued the design on which he came thither, that by the end of *October* he found himself ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ships for *England*, having taken twenty-nine sail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of these, three were laden with salt, twenty-five with fish, and one from *Martinico* with sugar and melasses, eight of which fell into the hands of the *Exeter*, nine were taken by the *Medway*, four by the *Mountague*, as many by the *Litchfield*, three by the *Charles-galley*, and one by the *Reserve*. Besides which, he burnt and destroyed all the fishing-boats and stages, &c. at *Trepassy*, *St. Mary's*, *Colonet*, great and little *St. Lawrence's*, and the island of *St. Peter's* at the entrance of *Fortune-bay*, being all very considerable estab-

Y 4. *See the list of the vessels.*

^y See the London Gazettee, No. 3862, 3853, where it is said, that the remainder of the fleet came in under the command of sir Stafford Fairborne.

lishments of the *French* in *Newfoundland*, and of the greatest importance for carrying on their fishery there, and breeding their seamen. At the latter of these places, there was a small fort of six guns, which he totally demolished; after all which success he sailed home safely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the squadron under his command at *Portsmouth*, on the tenth of *November* in the same year.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the *Dutch* more disturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time by the *French* ships at *Dunkirk*, where this year they had a small squadron under the command of the famous *monsieur de Pointis*. This induced his royal highness to equip a particular squadron under the command of commodore *Beaumont*, which had orders in the latter end of the month of *June*, to sail to the mouth of that port, in order to keep the *French* ships from coming out. The *States General* had for the same purpose a much stronger squadron under the command of rear-admiral *Vanderdussen*, for reasons of great importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the *French* kept seven or eight ships there purely to amuse us and the *Dutch*, and to keep us in perpetual motion. According to the informations we had here, the *French* were sometimes said to have a design of intercepting our homeward-bound ships from *Sweden* and *Russia*; according to others, they meditated a descent upon *Scotland*; and a great deal of pains and expence it cost us, to guard against both these designs. On the other hand the *Dutch*, who always piqued themselves on having the best and earliest intelligence, were through-

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* See the *London Gazette*, No. 3861.

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* Burchet p. 315. Lon French them telligence, on up the repu indeed was measure disa mised them their marine thing of imp Dunkirk squ any of the e In this, there not proper i this would h played upon

ly satisfied, that the *Dunkirk* squadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true scheme of the *French* was, to make a descent upon *Zeland*; to which purpose they had likewise information, that a body of eight thousand land forces was assembled near *Ostend*. Full of apprehensions on this account, they reinforced their squadron before *Dunkirk* to eighteen men of war of the line, and sent vice-admiral *Evertsen* to command it. This officer found himself so strictly tied up by his instructions, that he could not afford any assistance to our commodore, when in pursuance to orders from home, he sent to demand it. However, after several months fruitless attendance, and frequent informations given to the earl of *Nottingham*, that the *French* were at sea, and gone here and gone there, it at last appeared, that commodore *Beaumont* had been all the while in the right, who affirmed in his letters, that they never stirred out of the harbour *.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that in the beginning of 1702, died the famous *John du Bart*. He was a native

* Burchet's naval history, p. 635. *Memoirs of John du Bart*, p. 315. *London Gazette*, No. 3857. In all probability, the *French* themselves were the authors of these pieces of false intelligence, on purpose to alarm us and our allies, and to keep up the reputation of this formidable squadron. Thus much indeed was true, that the people in *Scotland* were in a great measure disaffected, and the *French* from time to time promised them assistance from *Dunkirk*; but the condition of their marine, was such as did not enable them to undertake any thing of importance; and indeed the whole strength of the *Dunkirk* squadron was altogether insufficient for performing any of the enterprizes that it was supposed to be designed for. In this, therefore, lay the error of our ministry, that they had not proper intelligence as to the force of that squadron, for this would have rendered it impossible for them to have been played upon as they were.

a native of *Dunkirk*, as some say, though others alledge that he was born at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, but being carried over a child, was bred up from his infancy in the sea-service at *Dunkirk* ^b. This is certain, that his mother was an *English* woman, and that he spent the first part of his life in ours and the *Dutch* service; but having nothing but his merit to recommend him he obtained very little, if any, preferment, which disgusted him so much, that upon the breaking out of the former war, he entered into the service of *France*, and rose there to the command of the *Dunkirk* squadron; in which post he rendered himself sufficiently terrible to the *English* and *Dutch*, by taking more of their ships, than almost all the other *French* privateers together ^c. He was succeeded in his command by the *Sieur Pointis*, who had taken *Carthagena*, and whom the *French* therefore thought it proper to reward; though it is certain he had neither the industry nor the capacity of his

^b See the compleat history of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 480, 481.

^c This du Bart performed most of his great exploits by mere dint of knowledge. He derived from nature a wonderful genius for maritime affairs, and improved this by a steady application to them. His perfect acquaintance with all the coasts enabled him to perform wonders; because he, generally speaking, had to do with men much inferior to him in this kind of skill. He was, besides, a most excellent seaman, and never trusted to the care of others, what it was in his power to see done himself. By this means, he kept his ships constantly clean, and in readiness to go to sea whenever an opportunity offered; and his sagacity, and success, placed him so high in the esteem of Lewis XIV. that he generally made choice of him, for the execution of the most difficult enterprizes undertaken during his reign; such as the conveying the prince of Conti to Poland, and the escorting the transports for the intended descent on England, in 1697.

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his predecessor. But if we had nothing but the instance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no less than thirty of our and the *States General's* ships were employed in watching the *Dunkirk* Squadron, it would be sufficient to shew the absolute necessity of keeping that port in its present situation, and never permitting the *French* to gain by plunder, the effects of other peoples industry; neither can any slight commerce carried on there, in time of peace, make the maritime powers the least amends for the risk they must run, on the breaking out of a war, should this port ever be restored ^a.

I am now to speak of admiral *Benbow's* expedition to the *West-Indies*, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wish should be buried in oblivion; but since that is impossible, I shall give the fairest and fullest account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I possibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumstance relating to that affair, and shall be particularly careful to avoid concealing truth on the one side, and no less watchful not to exaggerate it on the other. We have already mentioned the cause and the manner of admiral *Benbow's* putting to sea with his Squadron, which consisted of two third and eight fourth rates. He arrived at *Barbadoes* on the third of *November*, 1701, from whence he sailed to examine

^a I hint this, the rather because some people have laid a great stress on our commerce, by means of that port, which they would have us believe turns in the main more to our advantage, than to that of the *French*. It is certain, however, that such as are of this opinion, have little acquaintance with the maxims of the *French* government, or the attention that the present *French* ministry pay to things of this nature; there being perhaps no nation in the world where nicer enquiries are made into whatever regards commerce.

amine the state of the *French*, and of our own Leeward Islands. He found the former in some confusion, and the latter in so good a state of defence, that he did not look upon himself under any necessity of staying there, and therefore sailed to *Jamaica* *. There he received advice of two *French* squadrons being arrived in the *West-Indies*, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of *Barbadoes* very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking *Petit Guavas*; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that monsieur *Ducasse* was in the neighbourhood of *Hispaniola*, with a squadron of *French* ships, with an intent to settle the *Affiento* in favour of the *French*, and to destroy the *English* and *Dutch* trade for *Negroes*. Upon this he detached rear-admiral *Whetstone* in pursuit of him, and on the eleventh of *July*, 1702, he sailed from *Jamaica* in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that *Ducasse* was expected at *Leogane* on the north side of *Hispaniola*, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty seventh. Not far from the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover his strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were six merchant-ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral pressed so hard,

* See the London Gazette, No. 3862. where it is said, that all the seamen, as well as the admiral and officers, were so well accustomed to that climate, that they were in very good health, and not above ten men sick in the hospital. See also Burchet's naval history, and the complete history of Europe.

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hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship a-shore, and blew her up. On the twenty eighth the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, viz. *Cul de Sac*, but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming *Petit Guavas*, which he found it impossible to attack, sailed for *Donna Maria* bay, where he continued till the tenth of *August*, when having received advice, that monsieur *Ducasse* was sailed for *Carthage*, and from thence was to sail to *Porto Bella*, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of *Santa Martha* &c.

ON the nineteenth in the evening, he discovered, near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them *French* men of war; upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the *French* steering along shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great *Dutch* built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the

f *Mercur*e historique et politique, 1702. p. 657, where there is a very exact account of his proceedings, while on the coast of Hispaniola. See also an account of the proceedings of vice admiral Benbow, in the West-Indies, in the appendix to the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, drawn up from his own journal.

the night advancing, the admiral steered along side of the *French*; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack until the *Defiance* was got a-breast of the headmost. Before he could reach that station the *Falmouth* (which was in the rear) attempted the *Dutch* ship, the *Windsor* the ship a-breast of her, as did also the *Defiance*, and soon after the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windsor* stood no more than two or three broadsides before they lust out of gun-shot, infomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and gauled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks; he did so, and the line of battle then stood thus.

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|-----------------------|------------------------------------|----|
| <i>The Breda,</i> | Vice-Admiral Benbow and Capt. Fog. | 70 |
| <i>The Defiance</i> | Captain Richard Kirby. | 64 |
| <i>The Greenwich,</i> | Captain Cooper Wade. | 54 |
| <i>The Ruby,</i> | Captain George Walton. | 48 |
| <i>The Pendennis,</i> | Captain Thomas Hudson. | 48 |
| <i>The Windsor,</i> | Captain John Constable. | 48 |
| <i>The Falmouth,</i> | Captain Samuel Vincent. | 48 |

On the twentieth at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the *Ruby* to assist him, the rest

g Burchet, Oldmixon, and the account cited in the last note.

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rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles astern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, yet the latter was so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the sea breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could; and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the *Ruby* plyed them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night.

ON the twenty first the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line within point-blank-shot; but the *Ruby* being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The *Breda* engaged the ship that first attacked the *Ruby*, and plyed her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her but the *Ruby* was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear ship of the enemy's was a-breast of the *Defiance* and *Windsor*, but neither of those ships fired a single shot. On the twenty second at day-break, the *Greenwich* was five leagues a-stern though the signal for battle was never struck night or day;
about

Hence it appears, that if the *Ruby* had deserted admiral Benbow with the rest, he could have done nothing; but must have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his captains aimed at: and if this could have been effected, they had in all probability carried their point, and the whole blame had been thrown upon the admiral; which sufficiently demonstrates the merit of the gentleman who commanded the *Ruby*, viz. the late sir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his turn by the other captains; but when he came to be sober and to consider the matter better, discharged his duty as became him.

about three in the afternoon the wind came southerly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage¹.

On the twenty third the enemy was six leagues a-head, and the great *Dutch* ship separated from them. At ten the enemy tacked with the wind *s. E. N. E.* the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a shot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. About noon they took from the enemy a small *English* ship, called the *Ann-galley*, which they had taken off the rock of *Lisbon*. The *Ruby* being disabled, the admiral ordered her for *Port-Royal*. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing something at last, and therefore continued to fleet after them; but his ships, except the *Falmouth*, were soon a-stern again; at twelve the enemy began to separate².

On the twenty fourth about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but he presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ship of about seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored to pieces. The admiral soon after discovered the

¹ See Burchet's naval history, and the account of the proceedings of vice admiral Benbow, from whence, indeed, most of the other accounts are transcribed. ² In this, all the accounts we have, agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if these captains had now returned to their duty, most of Ducaffe's squadron must have been taken.

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the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The *Windser*, *Pendennis*, and *Greenwich*, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward: then came the *Defiance*, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the *Defiance* put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran to the leeward of the *Falmouth*, without any regard to the signal of battle.

THE enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though captain *Fogg* ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The *French*, seeing things in this confusion, brought too, and lay by their own disabled ship, remained and took her into tow. The *Breda's* rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lye by until ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward,

Z his

1 It was upon full evidence of this fact, that captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for cowardice though on other occasions, he had behaved well. It was generally supposed, that he was the author of this scheme; at least, he was charged with being so, by Wade and Constable,

his line of battle signal out all the while, and captain Fogg, by the admiral's orders, sent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, *That he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that from what was past he might guess he could make nothing of it* ^m. The brave admiral Bembow, more surprized at this language than he would have been at the fight of another *French* squadron, sent for the rest of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were most of them in captain Kirby's way of thinking; which satisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phrased it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the fairest opportunity that had yet offered. Our strength was at this time, one ship of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty; their masts, yards, and all things else in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to *Jamaica*, where he arrived with his squadron very weak with a fever induced by his wounds,

^m This was deposed at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ship pressed the admiral to retire to *Jamaica*, from an apprehension, that these captains, being become desperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the admiral unwillingly consented.

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wounds, and was soon after joined by rear-admiral *Whetstone*, with the ships under his command ⁿ.

As soon as he conveniently could, vice-admiral *Bendish* issued a commission to rear-admiral *Whetstone*, and to several captains, to hold a court martial for the tryal of several offenders. On the sixth of *October*, 1702, the court set at *Port-Royal*, when captain *Kirby*, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his tryal. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant-officers; by whose evidence it appeared, that the admiral boarded *Ducasse* in person three times, and received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was shot off: That *Kirby*, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of his desertion, as greatly discouraged the *English* in the engagement: That he kept two or three miles a-stern all the second day, though commanded again and again to keep his station: That the third day he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the deepest distress, having two or three *French* men of war upon him at a time, and that he threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. He had very little to say for himself, and therefore was most deservedly sentenced to be shot. The same day captain *Constable*, of the *Winsor*, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to

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ⁿ The reason of his retiring, is given in the former note, and the truth of this account is verified in the *histoire de S. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 203.

be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. The next day captain *Wade* was tried, and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant-officers on board his own ship, as also that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement; he, making little or no defence, had the same sentence with *Kirby*. As for captain *Hudson*, he died a few days before his tryal should have come on, and thereby avoided dying as *Kirby* and *Wade* did; for his case was exactly the same with theirs.

UPON

o This is taken from the proceedings of the court-martial, which is referred to in the London Gazette, No. 3878, where we have the following short account of the whole affair. "As soon as M. Ducaffe, with his squadron, appeared in sight, the admiral immediately made a signal for battle, and attacked the enemy very briskly, and maintained the fight for five days; so that, if he had been seconded by the other ships of his squadron, he would certainly have taken or destroyed all the French; but four of his ships did not assist him; the *Ruby* on the 21st, was disabled, and afterwards sent to Port Royal, and the whole burthen lay upon the admiral and the *Falmouth*; who, however, took a prize, being an English vessel, which the enemy had formerly taken from us; disabled the enemy's second ship, so that they were obliged to tow her away, and very much shattered the rest of their squadron, which since, is put into Porto Bello. The admiral on the 24th, had his leg broke by a chain-shot, which yet did not discourage him from continuing the fight; yet, not being able to prevail with his captains to concur with him in that opinion, he was obliged to give over his design. On the 6th of October, rear-admiral Whetstone, by commission from the admiral, held a court-martial, wherein captain *Kirby*, and captain *Cooper Wade*, were for cowardice and breach of orders, condemned to be shot to death; but the execution respited, till her majesty's pleasure should be known. Captain *Constable* being cleared of cowardice, was for breach of orders, cashiered from her majesty's service, and condemned to imprisonment during her pleasure, captain *Hudson* died before the tryal."

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UPON the twelfth came on the trials of captain *Vincent* commander of the *Falmouth*, and captain *Fogg*, who was captain of the admiral's own ship the *Breda*, for signing, at the persuasion of captain *Kirby*, a paper, containing an obligation on themselves not to fight the *French*. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it. All they offered was in extenuation of their offence, and amounted only to this, that they were apprehensive *Kirby* would have deserted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed on the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that, however they might be overseen in subscribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought, fit to suspend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given with a proviso that entirely took off its edge, viz. That it should not commence till his royal highness's pleasure should be known.

I cannot help taking notice of secretary *Burchet's* odd way of telling this story: In the first place he conceals the names of the criminals; out of respect, he says, to their families, and because one of them (but he doth not tell us which) had behaved well before. He then turns himself to admiral *Benbow*, and gives him a sort of negative character in the following words. " Thus much may be
 " observed as to vice-admiral *Benbow's* conduct, that al-
 " though he was a good seaman, and a gallant man, and
 " that he was qualified in most respects to command a
 " squadron, especially in the *West-Indies*, in which part of
 " the world he had had long experience; yet, when he
 " found his captains so very remiss in their duty, I think he
 " ought,

“ ought, in point of discretion, to have summoned them;
 “ and even that at first, on board his own ship, and there
 “ confined them, and placed their first lieutenants in their
 “ rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no
 “ other reason than the hopes of being continued in those
 “ commands, had they survived.”

THIS, I must confess, does not by any means satisfy me. Admiral *Benbow* was no prophet: he could not foretell that these captains would behave ill, nor could he be sure that they did behave ill, till they had frequently disobeyed his signals. Part of the time he was warmly engaged, and that could be no season for consultation; and part of the time the weather was foul, and then he could not call them on board. Besides, he was surrounded by bad men, and thought himself in so little capacity of punishing these people at sea, that he retired to *Jamaica* purely to be safe. But it would, methinks, have suited Mr. *Burchet's* purpose better, to have gone to the bottom of this affair, which, for any thing I can learn, the world is unacquainted with yet, and therefore I think myself obliged to publish it. The admiral was an honest, rough seaman, and fancied that his command was bestowed upon him for no other reason, than that he should serve his country: this induced him to treat captain *Kirby*, and the rest of the gentlemen, a little roughly at *Jamaica*, when he found them not quite so ready to obey his orders,

as

† Naval history, p. 598. The captains who suffered, had some very great relations, and in all probability, a desire of being well with them, prevented the inserting the names of these offenders in this celebrated performance. But to be so tender of them, and, in the very same breath, to attack obliquely the character of so worthy a man as admiral *Benbow*, does no great honour to his history.

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as he thought was their duty ; and this it was that engaged them in the base and wicked design of putting it out of his power to engage the *French*, presuming that, as so many were concerned in it, they might be able to justify themselves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and so they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honesty baffled them ; and we may guess at the spirit of the man, by the answer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expressed his sorrow for the loss of his leg. *I am sorry for it too,* says the gallant *Benbow* ; *but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear ? if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out.*

THE turn given by the *French* to this affair, is very extraordinary. They tell us, that admiral *Benbow*, at the distance of twelve leagues from *Santa Martha*, with seven men of war, attacked mr. *Ducasse*, who, though he had but four, did not refuse to fight. The engagement lasted five days, and on the sixth *Benbow* made all the sail he could for *Jamaica*. He had a leg shattered, and died a little while afterwards: His ships were most of them in no condition to keep the sea, more than half their crews being killed. Only one ship of mr. *Ducasse*'s squadron suffered, and he had but twenty men killed and wounded in the whole. However he did not care to pursue *Benbow*, who he did not believe to be in so bad a condition as he really was, and therefore he made the best of his way to *Cartha-*

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The reader will meet with some other particulars in the memoirs of admiral *Benbow*, contained in the fourth volume, and communicated by his descendants.

gens, where he arrived in a few days, and where his presence gave now as much joy as it had formerly (that is, when he plundered it in conjunction with monsieur *Pain- tis*) given terror. This is a very florid, and at the same time a very false account of the affair, and from thence we may learn the value of enquiries, since the court-martial at *Jamaica*, by their proceedings, set this whole business in its true light, and left us undeniable evidence, that it was not their own bravery, but the treachery of *Benbow's* captains, that saved the *French* squadron.

THE reflections he made on this unlucky business, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholly, which soon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of *November*, 1702, as much regretted as he deserved. The command of the squadron then devolved on captain *Whetstone*, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whose proceedings in the *West-Indies*, we shall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requisite that we should follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this disagreeable narration. They were sent from *Jamaica* on board her majesty's ship the *Bristol*, and arrived at *Plymouth* on the 16th of *April*, 1703, where (as in all the western ports) there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly shot on board the ship that brought them home, and

* This French account is taken from the *histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 202, 203, 204. But M. Ducasse was too brave a man to gloss things in such a manner; as the reader will be convinced by reading his letter to admiral *Benbow*, which will be found in his memoirs.

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and shewed at their death a courage and constancy of mind, which made it evident, that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity of nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on such as are entrusted with the like commands.

I should now, according to the order I have hitherto pursued in this work, take notice of what was transacted at home in relation to the navy, and particularly of what passed in parliament upon this subject: But as the queen's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the success at *Vigo*, and the thanks bestowed by the house of commons on sir *George Roke* for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I shall not insist further upon them here. I must however observe that, as in the case of *Kirby* and *Wade*, her majesty shewed a strict regard to justice, so with respect to admiral *Hopson*, she gave as lively a testimony of her just sense of merit, for she not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood, but was graciously pleased to settle upon him a pension of 500 *l.* a year for life, with the reversion of 300 *l.* a year to his lady, in case she survived him on account of the prodigious service he did in breaking the boom at *Vigo*. But this extraordinary

f See the London Gazette, No. 3907. *Mercure historique, et politique*, 1703. vol. i. p. 335. t This was published in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this addition, that he was introduced to the queen, when he received the honour of knighthood, by the hand of his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral of England. See the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 452.

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dinary mark of royal favour did not (as indeed it ought not) screen him from a strict examination in the house of lords, in conjunction with sir *George Rooke*, as to the miscarriage of the design upon *Cadix*; but upon the strictest review that could be made of that whole affair, their appeared so little colour for censuring either of the admirals' actions, that, how much soever their enemies might desire it, they were at last glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was possible for the service of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy minister at *Lisbon*, mr. *Methuen*, to draw over from his alliance with the two crowns, the king of *Portugal*, to the interest of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to say no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add most, of the treaties that have been concluded since.

THERE

" Bishop Burnet gives this account. " A committee of the
" house of peers sat long upon the matter: they examined
" all the admirals and land officers, as well as *Rooke* himself,
" upon the whole progress of that affair. *Rooke* was so well
" supported by the court, and by his party in the house of
" commons, that he seemed to despise all that the lords could
" do; some who understood sea-matters, said, that it appeared
" from every motion during the expedition, that he intended
" to do nothing but amuse and make a shew; they also con-
" cluded, from the protection that the ministry gave him, that
" they intended no other. He took much pains to shew, how
" improper a thing a descent on *Cadiz* was, and how fatal the
" attempt must have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his
" instructions, and the design he was sent on, with great bold-
" ness; and shewed little regard to the ministers, who took
" more pains to bring him off, than to justify themselves.

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THERE had hitherto appeared very little of party-opposition to the management of the war, and therefore the supplies for the service of the year 1703, were very cheerfully granted, and very easily raised, which was the reason that the fleet was much earlier at sea, had all things provided in a better manner, at less expence to the nation, and yet sooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reason why the *French* never had any of those advantages they boasted of so much in the former war. In the month of *March* the queen made a kind of naval promotion. The marquis of *Caermarthen* was advanced from being vice-admiral of the *White*, to be vice-admiral of the *Red*; *John Graydon*, esq; was made vice-admiral of the *White*; *John Leake*, esq; vice-admiral of the *Blue*; *George Byng*, esq; rear-admiral of the *Red*;

Thomas

“ The lords of the committee prepared a report, which was hard upon *Rooke*, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, justifying his conduct.” The truth of this matter is, that as *sir George Rooke* knew nothing of his orders, until he came to execute them; so he was absolutely free from dependance on any minister, and spoke what he thought with the greatest intrepidity. The main of his defence was this, that his orders were contradictory, that the chief of them required his bringing over the *Spaniards*, if possible, to the interest of the house of *Austria*, and the rest enjoined him to sink their ships and burn the town, which he found scarce practicable; and if it had been more so, not at all eligible, since at first, the inhabitants did not discover any great enmity: and if more had been done, it could only have served to have made the *Spaniards* implacable; and after all, perhaps the town might not have been taken.

364 NAVAL HISTORY

Thomas Dilkes, esq; rear-admiral of the *White*, and *Bazil Beaumont*, esq; rear-admiral of the *Blue* w.

THE first scheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at sea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended that the arch-duke *Charles*, who was to take upon him the title of king of *Spain*, should also marry an infanta of *Portugal*, and in consequence of that marriage, was to undertake something of importance immediately, with the assistance however of the *English* and *Dutch*; and so hearty were the latter, that they sent a squadron of men of war, with near three thousand land-troops on board, upon our coast, and after tossing and tumbling there for some weeks, the project in the council of the *Imperial* court was changed, the design dropt, and the *Dutch* went home again z.

SIR

w The supplies granted this year, amounted to 3,517,957 l. 7s 2d. which in those days was thought an immense sum, though we have since seen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for peace or war. As to the promotion, it was declared in the *Gazette* of March 15, 1702. No. 3896, and was at that time highly applauded, because it was generally conceived, that these gentlemen were promoted purely in regard to their merit. It was also said at that time, that mr. Graydon was advanced on another officer's refusing to serve in the *West Indies*

z This was among the number of those things which gave great offence to the states of *Holland*. They actually equipt a squadron, embarked on board it 3000 land troops, and sent them so early as the month of January, on the coast of *England*, where they were to be joined by twenty sail of *English* men of war, with 3000 land troops: but the *Portuguese* match being lost, and the councils of the imperial court taking a sudden turn, this expedition was dropt, and then it was given out, that it was intended for the *West-Indies*; which, whatever effect it might have abroad, created abundance of groundless reflections at home, as if we had

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SIR *George Rooke* had propos'd a scheme for distressing the enemy, by sailing very early into the bay of *Biscay*, where he thought, if they had any men of war without port *Louis* and *Rochfort*, they might be surprized and taken, or at least the commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this scheme, he took it upon himself. About the middle of the month of *April* he arriv'd at St. *Helen's*, with eighteen ships of the line, with which he was very desirous of sailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the *Dutch*; but this proposition was not at first accepted, so that he remained there till the beginning of the month of *May*, when he was so ill that he kept his bed, though bishop *Burnet* is so charitable as to suggest, that he was only sick of the expedition; which, had it been true, was no reflection upon him, since the execution of what he propos'd depended entirely on being done in time, and the putting off his departure was chargeable on those who were vested with that authority which com-

had neglected making war in that part of the world, where we were most able to have carried it on with success, and to have drawn advantages from it. But the truth is, our allies would never consent to our making any conquests in the Spanish West Indies, and this rumour of the fleets going thither, was only spread to alarm the Spaniards, and produce some good effects in Europe. y There could not well be a greater sign of his being in earnest; and, as to the nature of the proposal, it was certainly well calculated for preventing the French from reaping any benefit from their trade with Spain, or the Spaniards from feeling any effects of French protection. This agreed exactly with the maxim upon which sir *George Rooke* always went, of treating the French as enemies, and the Spaniards as allies. For it was his opinion, and he was not shy of declaring it, that it might be very practicable to retrieve Spain, though impossible to conquer it. Let it be considered, how far this was justified, by the event.

commanded him^s. The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himself so ill, that he applied for leave to go to the *Bath*, which was granted him, and *George Churchill*, esq; admiral of the *Blue*, was sent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and sir *George* finding himself better, put to sea, and continued at sea for something more than a month; and then finding what he suspected at the *Isle of Wight* to be true, that the enemy had notice of his design, and that most of their squadrons had sailed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no service by remaining longer on the *French* coast, returned home about the middle of *June*, that he might be ready to undertake any more necessary service^a. This expedition

^a That I may not seem to charge this prelate rashly, I will produce his own words, "This year things at sea, says he, were ill designed, and worse executed: The making prince *George* our lord high admiral, proved in many instances very unhappy to the nation, men of bad designs imposed on him; he understood those matters very little, and they sheltered themselves under his name, to which a great submission was paid; but the complaints rose the higher for that; our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; so *Rooke* was sent out to alarm the coast of France: He lingered long in port, pretending ill health; upon that, *Churchill* was sent to command the fleet; but *Rooke's* health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to sea, where he continued a month; but in such a situation, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which sailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not so much as to disturb their quiet, by coming near their coasts; at last he returned without having attempted any thing."

Sir *George* sailed, as appears by the *Gazette*, on the 9th of May. On the 23d he sent in the *Lenox* to *Portsmouth*, with a French East-India ship worth 100,000 l. on the 15th of June, he sent in lord *Durley*, who commanded the

expedition who say might have been *George* as he, the command be right and there *Rooke* re-asked an reason to he was a command portance

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expedition has the misfortune to displease secretary *Burchet*, who says that, in his poor opinion, a squadron of small ships might have had better success; and in my poor opinion, sir *George Rooke* was as good a judge of the probability of this as he. The question in such cases is not the success, but the contrivance and execution of the scheme; and if these be right, the conduct of the commander cannot be wrong, and therefore ought not to be blamed. When sir *George Rooke* returned, he was still so weak and infirm, that he asked and had leave to go to *Bath*, his superiors seeing no reason to censure his behaviour; and therefore, as soon as he was able to undertake it, we shall find him again in command, and employed in a service of much greater importance.

THE grand fleet was commanded this year by sir *Claude de Seyville*: It consisted at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral *Byng*, and sir *Stafford Fairborne*; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by vice-admiral *Leake*. His instructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, viz. annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of *June* for the *Dutch*, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him had been better adjusted than it was

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the *Litchfield*, with a French man of war of 36 guns, and a West-India merchant-man worth 40,000 l. and on the 22d of June sir *George* returned with many prizes from the West-Indies. This is the plain English of the prelates without attempting any thing.

to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of *September*, was much too short, so that it was really impossible for him to execute the services that seemed to be expected^b. He represented this, and is commended for it by bishop *Burnet*, who had notwithstanding censured another admiral for the same thing before; however sir *Cloudefley Shovel* was ordered to obey, and he did so, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of *July*, having also a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant men under his convoy. On the twenty fourth he arrived off the rock of *Lisbon*, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in *Altea* bay. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able, and having secured the *Turkey* fleet, he intended to have staid some time upon the coast of *Italy*. But the *Dutch* admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much difficulty that sir *Cloudefley Shovel* prevailed upon him to go to *Leghorn*. In the mean time the instructions he had to succour the *Covennois*, who were then in arms against the *French* king, were found impracticable with a fleet; and therefore the admiral contented himself with doing all that could be done, which was to send the *Tartar* and the *Penn-
broke*

^b This, as I observe in the text, is ingenuously confessed by bishop *Burnet*, who carries his reflections on this subject very far; he says, it was not easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be. Much was said to the same purpose in the house of lords; but nobody reflected upon the admiral, as indeed there was no reason for it. But then, I confess I do not see why the same justice should not be done to other admirals, when their conduct appears to have been as innocent, or as laudable.

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broke upon that coast, where they also found it impossible to do any thing^c. The admiral then detached captain *Swanton* to *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and sent rear-admiral *Byng* to *Algier*, to renew the peace with those states, and on the twenty second of *September* arrived off *Altea*, from whence he soon after sailed for *England*. On the twenty seventh in the *Streights* mouth he met with an *Algerine* man of war becalmed, which he immediately took under his protection, till all the *Dutch* ships were passed; in which he certainly performed the part of an *English* admiral, preserved the reputation of our flag, did great service to our trade, and put it out of the power of the *French* to practise upon those piratical states, to our disadvantage as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ships waited for a convoy at *Lisbon*, he sent sir *Andrew Leake* thither with a small squadron, who convoyed them safe into the *Downs*^d.

V O L. III.

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^c It is clear, that the Dutch were victualled for still a shorter time than our fleet; and, if I durst, I would suggest, that our ministry were obliged to comply with the schemes of our allies, in such joint expeditions. Mr. Oldmixon has given a large account of the attempt made in favour of the *Cevennois*, and has fully vindicated the admiral's conduct.

^d It is certain, that sir *Cloudesly* gained as much reputation in this expedition, as it was possible for an admiral to do, who had no opportunity of fighting; and therefore, those people seem to carry things too far, who say that this fleet did not either hurt our enemies, or protect our friends; whereas, in truth, all circumstances considered, it did both; and our allies the Dutch, were very well contented with what was done; imagining, that the protection of their own trade, was a matter of as great importance, at least to them, as the support of king *Charles's* title to the crown of *Spain*, which the court of *Vienna* left at that time entirely to the confederates.

ON the sixteenth of *November*, the fleet being off the isle of *Wight*, the *Dutch* crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to steer for the *Douons*, which he did; but before he made land, captain (afterwards sir *John*) *Norris* in the *Orford*, a ship of the third rate, together with the *Warspight* of seventy guns, and the *Litchfield* of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chase to a *French* ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the dispute continued till two in the morning, when having lost her fore-top-mast, and all her sails, and her standing and running rigging being much shattered, she struck. This ship came from *Newfoundland*, was commanded by monsieur *de la Rüe*, was named the *Hazardous*, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and seventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any one of our sixty gun ships, so that she was registered in the list of our royal navy &c.

THIS expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore it created some murmur; but these fell where they ought: not upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, but upon those who framed the project, and gave the admiral his instructions, and were thought to have rather more power than parts.

BUT while the grand fleet was at sea, rear-admiral *Dilkes* performed a very acceptable service to his country on the *French* coast. For the lord high admiral's council having intelligence, that a considerable fleet of *French* merchant ships, with their convoy, were in *Cancall-bay*, orders were sent to the rear-admiral, who was then at

Spithead

* Burchet's naval history, p. 656. Pointer's chronological history, and compleat history of Europe, for the year 1703.

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Spithead with a small Squadron, to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the twenty second of *July*. On the twenty fourth he ordered the captain of the *Non-such*, to stretch a-head of the Squadron, and stand as near *Alderney* as he could, and send his boat a-shore to gain intelligence. On the twenty fifth he stood towards the *Casquets* for the same purpose, and at six in the evening anchored off the south-west part of *Jersey*; from whence he sent captain *Chamberlain*, commander of the *Spy* brigantine, to the governor, that he might draw from him the best intelligence he could give. The governor sent to him captain *James Lamprier*, and captain *Thomas Pipon*, who well understood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty sail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to *Granville*, the rear-admiral, upon consultation at a council of war with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the *Minques*, he might attack the enemy by break of day the next morning; which succeeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the twenty sixth, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the westward of *Granville*, they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore.

THE rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-three merchant-ships, and three men of war. Being come within four foot water more than the ship drew, he manned all his boats, and the rest of the ships did the same. By noon he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between *Aurarche* and

the mount of *St. Michael*, that in the judgment of the pilots our ships could not attack them; whereupon, on the twenty seventh in the morning, it was resolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the *Hector*, *Mermaid*, a fire-ship, the *Spy* brigantine, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being present, accompanied by captain *Fairfax*, captain *Legg*, and captain *Mighells*; as also by the captains *Lamprier* and *Pipon*.

THERE were three ships equipt for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the second of fourteen guns, which mr. *Paul*, first lieutenant of the *Kent*, set on fire, who in this service was shot through the lower jaw, and had four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ships were burnt and destroyed, by this second attack, so that of the whole fleet only four escaped, by getting under the command of *Granville*-fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from *Granville*, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel of six guns, with forty who covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy seen on shore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any service, or ours any hurt. The queen, to testify her kind acceptance of so chearful and so effectual a service, ordered gold medals to be struck on this occasion, and delivered to the rear-

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rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deserved them. ^f

WE are now to speak of the greatest disaster that had happened within the memory of man at least, by the fury of the winds, I mean the storm which began on the twenty sixth of *November*, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flashes of lightning, till about seven the next morning. The water flowed to a great height in *Westminster-Hall*, and *London-Bridge* was in a manner stopt up with wrecks. The mischief done in *London* was computed at not less than a million, and the city of *Bristol* suffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But the greatest loss fell upon our navy, of which there perished no less than thirteen ships, upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned; amongst whom was *Basil Beaumont*, esq;

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^f See the *London Gazette*, No. 3937. 3938. The following is the best account that can be given of the particulars of this great loss.

^g The

I. The *Reserve*, a fourth rate, captain John Anderson, commander, lost at Yarmouth. The captain, the surgeon, the clerk, and 44 men saved; the rest of the crew drowned, being 175.

II. The *Vanguard*, a second rate, sunk in Chatham-harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

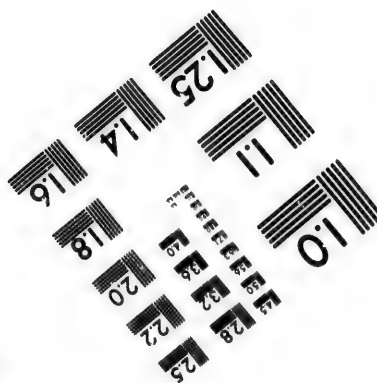
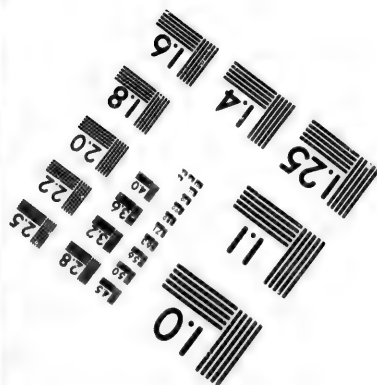
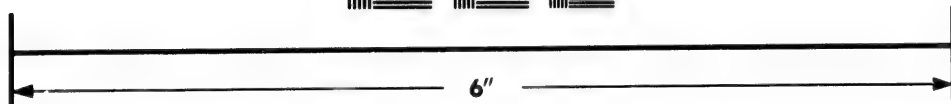
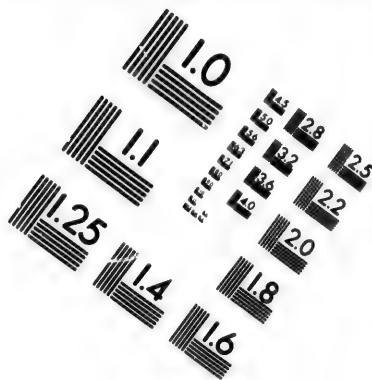
III. The *Northumberland*, a third rate, captain Greenway, lost on the Goodwin sands; all her company was lost, being 220 men, including 24 marines.

IV. The *Sterling-castle*, a third rate, captain Johnson, on the Goodwin sands, 70 men, of which were four marine officers, saved, the rest were drowned, being 206.

V. The *Mary*, a fourth rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopson, on the Goodwin sands, the captain and purser ashore; one man, whose name was Thomas Atkins, saved;

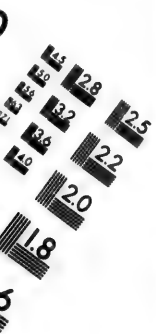
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rear-admiral of the *Blue*, who had been employed all that year in observing the *Dunkirk* squadron, and had by his great care and conduct preserved our merchant-ships from falling into the hands of the *French* privateers; which service appeared the more considerable by the great losses the

the rest, to the number of 269, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The escape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He saw the rear admiral, when the ship was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was soon washed off; and about the same time, Atkins was tossed by a wave into the *Sterling* castle, which sinking soon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that washed him from the wreck.

VI. The *York*, a fourth rate, captain Smith, lost at Harwich; all her men saved except 4.

VII. The *Mortar bomb*, a fifth rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin sands; all her company lost, being 65.

VIII. The *Eagle*, advice-boat, a sixth rate, captain Bosstock, lost on the coast of *Sussex*; all her company, being 45, saved.

IX. The *Resolution*, a third rate, captain Lisle, on the coast of *Sussex*; all her company, being 221, saved.

X. The *Litchfield prize*, a fifth rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coast of *Sussex*; all her company, being 108, saved.

XI. The *New-castle*, a fourth rate, captain Carter, lost at Spithead; the Carpenter and 39 men were saved, and the rest being 193, drowned.

XII. The *Vesuvius* fireship, a fifth rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being 48, saved.

XIII. The *Restoration*, a third rate, captain Emms, 387 men, on the Goodwin sands; not one saved.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was then in the Downs with several great ships, which were all in the utmost danger; he cut his main-mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the *Galloper* of the breach, of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairbone had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Association, in which he was driven first to *Gottenburgh*, and then to *Copenhagen*, from whence he did not get home till the next year. The *Revenge* was forced from her anchors

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Dutch this year sustained. He was in all other respects a man well qualified for the service of his country, and what made his loss most regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war. These losses, how much soever they might affect us at home, served in some measure to raise our reputation abroad, for orders were immediately issued for building more ships than were destroyed; and the queen, by several gracious bounties, gave such and so speedy relief, to shipwreck'd seamen, and to the distressed widows of such as were drowned, as might have endeared her to her subjects, if she had not already so fully possessed their hearts, as to render any increase of affection impossible ^h.

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CHARLES

and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the river Medway; the *Russel*, captain *Townsend*, was forced over to Holland, and the *Dorset*, captain *Edward Whitaker*, after striking thrice on the *Gallopier*, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the *Nore*.

^h On the 12th of December, the queen published a proclamation for a general fast, on Wednesday the 19th of January following, which was kept with wonderful strictness: In the *Gazette* of December 16th, the lord high admiral, by an advertisement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the companies of her majesty's ships which were cast away should be paid that day month, which was done accordingly; and in the *Gazette*, No. 3978, appeared the following order.

" Her majesty taking into consideration the great loss sustained by the families of such as, being in her majesty's service at sea, perished by the late storm: Her majesty, with the advice of her privy-council is pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered accordingly, that the widows and families of such commission and other officers and seamen as have perished by reason of the late storm, in her majesty's service at sea, be entitled to her majesty's bounty in the same manner as if they had been actually killed in fight in her majesty's service at sea, according to the establishment in that behalf

CHARLES, arch-duke of *Austria*, being declared king of *Spain* by his father, and owned as such by the allies, sir *George Rooke* was sent in the month of *October* to *Holland*, in order to convoy his catholick majesty to *Lisbon*. There the *Dutch* not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for some time, and then the great storm occasioned a new delay; at last he embarked, and with a joint squadron of *English* and *Dutch* ships, and a considerable number of transports, with land forces on board, he arrived at *Spithead* on the twenty sixth of *December*; he was there received by the duke of *Somerset* and the duke of *Marlborough*, met on the road to *Windsor* by his royal highness the prince of *Denmark*, and was received with all imaginable marks of respect by the queen, for whom he shewed greater deference than was even expected by the *English* court. Here we will end the naval transactions in *Europe* for this year, and proceed to take a view of what passed in *America*, after the death of admiral *Benbow* in *Jamaica*.

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“behalf. And his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral, is desired to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.”

The house of commons, which was then sitting, addressed her majesty upon this melancholly occasion, desiring her to give immediate directions for repairing this loss, and to build such capital ships as she should think fit, and promised to make good the expence at the next meeting.

i Most of our historians have placed sir George Rooke's voyage to *Lisbon*, in 1703, which is what I do not understand, since he did not leave England 'till the month of January, 1704, and therefore I have contented myself with placing that part of his expedition within this year, which fell out in it, and left the rest to be related in its proper place. I shall take
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THE command devolving upon captain *Whetstone*, whom mr. *Benbow* had appointed rear-admiral of his squadron, he immediately put it into the best condition possible for going to sea, and then cruized on the coast of *Hispaniola*. On his return to *Jamaica* an opportunity offered of shewing his great concern for the interests of the colony. A fire breaking out at *Port Royal* on the ninth of *February* 1703, about noon, burnt it down to the ground before night, leaving nothing standing but the two fortifications. In this sad distress, which still would have been much greater, if the seamen, with great courage and industry, had not assisted in preserving their goods and stores, the rear-admiral published a proclamation, in which he promised to entertain and relieve all such as should desire it, on board her majesty's ships, until they could be otherwise provided for; which he with great care and tenderness, performed.

this opportunity of observing, that the archduke Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th of September, N. S. his journey to Portugal being then resolved on. The choice made of sir George Rooke to bring him over hither, and convoy him to Lisbon, was a clear proof that his conduct was equally approved at home and abroad. Indeed it could not be otherwise, for every body at this time, was satisfied that our ministry designed to place king Charles III. on the throne of Spain, partly by assisting the Spaniards, who should declare for him, but chiefly by compelling the French to abandon the cause of his rival. Now this was exactly agreeable to sir George Rooke's way of thinking, who was for treating the Spaniards kindly, and fighting only with the French. This being considered, we may easily account for the making choice of sir George Rooke, to command this fleet, though it will not be easy to divine why those writers bear hardest on sir George's character, who are fondest of lord Godolphin's measures, which we have shewn to be a thing absolutely absurd, since they thought alike.

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performed. Soon after this, he sailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a considerable fleet of merchant-ships, which were expected from *France*. He spent five weeks, in search of them to no purpose; and after looking into *Port Lewis*, not finding any thing there, he stood away for *Petit Guavas* and *Leogane*. When he arrived near this port, he divided his squadron, because when admiral *Benbow* attacked the enemy here, their ships escaped on one side, as he entered on the other. He therefore sailed westward with part of his ships, and sent the rest to the south. When these came in sight, three privateers, which were in every respect ready for service, stood away northward; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them ashore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain *Vincent*, who commanded to the southward, rowed in the night into a place called the *Cul de Sac*, where he found four ships, one of which he burnt, another he sunk, the third (which was a consort of the privateers aforementioned) he towed out, and boarding the fourth, she was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-shell. From this place the rear-admiral sailed to *Port de Paix*, but found no shipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in those parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north side of *Jamaica*; and in these ships were taken one hundred and twenty prisoners^k.

WHILE

^k Burchet's naval history, British Empire in America, complete history of Europe, 1704. It is very remarkable, that *Pere le Pers* in his accurate history of *St. Domingo*, has nothing of this expedition, which could not possibly have escaped his notice any more than that which was intended by the French against *Jamaica*. But as no honour could arise to his countrymen,

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WHILE rear-admiral *Whetstone* was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the safety of the plantations at home. Sir *George Rooke*, in the month of *September*, 1702, detached from the *Mediterranean*, captain *Heaven-den Walker* in the *Burford*, five more third rates, ten transports, and four regiments on board, for the *Leeward-Islands*; he arrived in *Barbadoes* in the beginning of the month of *January*; and there coming thither soon after six of our *East-India* ships richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, sent them home under the convoy of the *Expedition*, a third rate, captain *Knapp*, commander, who brought them safely to *England*. From *Barbadoes* commodore *Walker* sailed to *Antigua*, where he joined colonel *Coddington*, who was about undertaking an expedition to *Guadalupe*, in which captain *Walker* was to assist him. They sailed from *Antigua* the latter end of *February*; on the twelfth of *March* general *Coddington* landed with great part of the forces, but was so warmly received by the *French*, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore *Walker* had not sent in the *Chichester*, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered. The next day the rest of the soldiers, and four hundred seamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the castle and fort, which they defended to the third of *April*, and then blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt

men, from the relation of what past in this part of the world at this time, he thought proper to be silent, rather than record the advantages gained by the English.

burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the best of the artillery on board, burst the rest, and with a very great booty embarked without the loss of a man!

THE *French* writers give a different account of this affair, and because the *English* thought fit to retreat, they will needs have it the proof of a victory on their side. Now as to this retreat, there were many reasons for it, and some indeed that rendered it indispensibly necessary. General *Coddington* fell sick, and was forced to return to *Nevis*; then colonel *Whetham*, upon whom the command devolved, fell also dangerously ill, and was carried to *Antigua*. The command of the land-forces fell next to colonel *Willis*, who, upon certain information, that the *French* had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before observed, on the seventh of *May*. I must be acknowledged, that this service suffered not a little from some disputes that happened between the land and sea-officers;

¹ There were some unlucky circumstances attended this expedition. In the first place when captain Walker arrived, the land-forces had no powder, with which, however, they were furnished from the fleet. When they came next to examine their stores closely, it was found, that in a thousand flints, there were not fifty fit for musquets, nor had they mortars, bombs, pick axes, spades, or indeed any thing proper and convenient for a siege. But we must take care not to attribute this mismanagement either to commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to sir George Rooke, who sent him, since they both acted in obedience to orders; the commodore to those of the admiral, and the admiral receiving his from the ministry, who ought to have considered better what they were doing.

m *Histoire militaire*, tom. iv. P. Daniel, Limiers, &c.

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officers ; which is, generally speaking, the ruin of our *West-India* expeditions ⁿ.

As soon as the news of vice-admiral *Benbow's* misfortune and death arrived in *England*, it was resolved to send another flag-officer thither with a considerable Squadron. This command, it is said, was offered to sir *Stafford Fairborne*, who refused it ; and then it was proposed to mr. *Graydon*, who, though a certain prelate styles him a brutal man, made this answer, " That it was his duty to go where the " queen thought proper to command him, and that he " knew no difference of climates, when he was to obey " her orders." His instructions may be found at large in *Burchet*, and the strength he was to take with him, consisting only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate ; which last proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the *Montague* of sixty, and the *Nonfuch* of fifty guns, were ordered

ⁿ The governors of our colonies have scarce ever been able to agree with the commanders of our Squadrons ; and with respect to this very expedition, there were as warm complaints made against the commodore, as ever came from the *West-Indies* : but he represented, that the road of *Guadalupe* was excessively bad ; that he found it impossible to procure pilots ; that several of the ships lost their anchors, the ground being foul, and the water deep, so that some or other were daily forced out to sea ; and added to this, that the troops were under excessive difficulties, having no guides to conduct them, and being under the utmost want of necessaries to support them. Beside, the island was not abandoned, till the expedition had cost us pretty dear, as appears by the following account of our loss. There were killed in the first action, one major, two captains, six lieutenants ; and wounded, two colonels, seven captains, and nine lieutenants ; and three ensigns died. One hundred and fifty-four soldiers were killed ; two hundred and eleven wounded ; seventy-two died ; fifty-nine deserted ; and twelve were taken prisoners.

ordered to see him a hundred and fifty leagues into the sea °. They sailed about the middle of *March*, and on the eighteenth of that month they saw four *French* ships to leeward, viz. two of sixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns. This last being both the smallest and sternmost, the *Montague*, commanded by captain *William Cleland*, bore down to, and soon after engaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the signal for a line of battle, and consequently for the *Montague's* coming off; but her fore-top-sail being shot in pieces the second broadside she received from the enemy, she could not tack so soon as otherwise might have been expected, insomuch, that the other three *French* ships wore, and bearing down to the ship that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadside at the *Montague*; but she being to windward, and the sea running high, as the *French* generally fire in hopes of wounding masts, yards, or rigging, all their shot flew over her, so that she received not any considerable damage. The *French* ships (which now made the best of their way from ours) were foul, for they were part of the squadron under command of monsieur *du Casse*, with which vice-admiral *Benbow* engaged in the *West-Indies*, and (as it was reported) were very rich p.

THIS Affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithstanding, seems to have acted according to the best of his abilities; and in saying, this, I am warranted by the judgment of the *Admiralty-board*, who were

° See Burchet's naval history, the complete history of Europe for 1702, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, &c. p Burchet's naval history, London Gazette, No. 3910.

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were best acquainted with mr. Graydon's instructions⁹. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the island of *Madeira* on the tenth of *April*, 1703; and from thence he sailed to *Barbadoes*, where he arrived the twelfth of *May*. The day before came a brigantine from *Guadalupe*, with advice that commodore *Walker* was there, and that both seamen and soldiers were in danger of being starved for want of provisions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himself to the agent-vic-tualler, and having furnished himself with all the beef, pork, bread, and pease that could be got, he sailed on the seventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of *Guadalupe*, and seeing it in ruins, he sailed instantly for *Antigua*, and from thence to *Nevis*, where he met

⁹ Bishop Burnet blames the admiralty for inserting a paragraph in the Gazette, to justify the admiral's conduct. It is necessary the reader should see that paragraph, which runs thus. "Plymouth, April 26, the Montague, captain Cleyeland, commander, is come in here: the *Nonfuch*, and she went from thence the 13th of March, with vice-admiral Graydon, in the *Resolution*, captain Day in the *Blackwall*, the transports with brigadier Columbine's regiment, store-ships, and merchants, bound to the West-Indies, and parted from them on the 26th of the same, in the latitude of 43 degrees. The captain says, that on the 18th of that month, in the latitude of 47 degrees, 30 minutes, they met four French men of war, and that he engaged the sternmost for some time; but upon his first engaging, the vice-admiral made a signal to call him off, being under orders not to lose any time in his passage, by chasing or speaking with any ships whatsoever; the contrary winds having kept him here much longer than was intended, and the service upon which he was bound, very much requiring his presence, and the regiment that was with him". The single question that arose on this subject was, whether admiral Graydon obeyed his orders? And this is plainly decided by the foregoing paragraph in the affirmative.

met with the army and squadron in the greatest distress; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ships of war to *Jamaica*, where they arrived the fourteenth of *June*. The first thing he did there, was to direct a survey of the ships under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their masts, stores and rigging; and at the same time very ill manned. This, together with some differences that arose between the admiral and some of the principal persons in *Jamaica*, determined him to sail home as soon as possible: and accordingly, having left the *Norwich*, the *Experiment*, and the *Sea-Horse*, with the *Harman* and *Earl-galley*, fire-ships, together with two sloops, to attend the island; and the *Colchester* and *Sunderland* to convoy home the latter trade, he sailed for *Blewfields*, and proceeding from thence he fell in with *Newfoundland* on the second of *August*.^s

In the evening of that day there arose such a fog as had scarce ever been seen; for it lasted thirty days complete, and the weather was so very dark, that it was difficult to discover one ship from another: this occasioned the dispersion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of *September*, when the vice-admiral thought it proper to consult his officers, as to the principal design of his voyage, which was the attacking the *French* at *Placentia*, and thereby forcing them to quit *Newfoundland*. At this council of war, there were present,

^s Burchet's naval history, p. 605. This was certainly a very signal service done to the nation; since, if the admiral had acted less vigorously in procuring a supply, our troops must necessarily have perished for want. Burchet's naval history, Lediard, Oldmixon, annals of queen Ann, &c.

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sent, besides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral *Whetstone*, and thirteen sea-captains; of the land-officers, the commander in chief, colonel *Rivers*, six captains, and an engineer. They took into consideration the queen's instructions to brigadier *Columbine*, then deceased, and those to mr. *Graydon*, and finding all their ships in a very sad condition, that they were thinly manned, and most of them sick, already at short allowance, and the soldiers being forced to drink water in so cold a climate, had their limbs benumbed, and were scarce fit for service; that the five regiments were reduced to one thousand thirty five men; that of five hundred they were to receive from *New England* there came but seventy, which were now reduced to twenty-five, and those in a manner disabled; and that from the best account, the enemy at *Placentia* were judged to be not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but that the avenues to the place were extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; these difficulties and obstructions being maturely considered, together with the good circumstances the enemy were in, and the assistance they might have from their privateers, and other shipping then at *Placentia*, the council of war were unanimously of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ships and forces at such a season of the year, was altogether impracticable; and that, instead of any probability of success, it might tend to the dishonour of her majesty's arms ^t.

VOL. III.

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^t I transcribe this from a MS. account of admiral *Graydon's* defence, in which are particular certificates as to the truth

THIS was the end of vice-admiral *Graydon's* unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain on the one Hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable service, yet it is no less certain on the other, that in respect to protecting the trade, and the rest of the things in his power, he did all the service he was able. But it was his misfortune, first to feel the effects of other mens mistakes, and next to be made answerable for them. On his return, the house of lords entered into an enquiry into his conduct; and, besides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a resolution of addressing her majesty, to remove him from all employments for impressing servants in the *West Indies*; desiring her, at the same time, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute him for that offence. This had the desired effect: vice-admiral *Graydon* (as to service) was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that he justified himself as to his not fighting the *French*, under his orders, which were very precise upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he must have

truth of each of these facts, and which, I suppose, satisfied the house of lords as to this part of the charge; which the admiral looked upon as that which would affect him most, since here he had not executed his orders, but avoided attacking the *French*.

See the journal of the house of lords. I do not find that the admiral was ever prosecuted; and I guess, from a reflection of Mr. Oldmixon, that he was not.

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been answerable for all the consequences before a court-martial; while on the other hand the lords as the supreme judicature, decided in this case, on the reason of the thing; and because, as they thought, the necessity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have superseded his orders; yet, when he pleaded necessity in excuse of impressing servants, this would not serve his turn; but he was punished in that case as severely for making use of his own judgment, as for a supposed neglect of it in the other.

In all probability the resentment of the house of lords against this gentleman, was sharpened by their inspecting closely into other affairs relating to the navy; in which, it must be confessed, they found things very indifferently managed. As for instance, complaints had been made to the lord high admiral, of bad provisions, by which the seamen were poisoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a survey of the provisions complained of was delayed for three months, which gave a great opportunity for making such removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill served with convoys, and that so little care was taken of the *Newcastle* fleet, as occasioned an excessive rise of coals: the neglect of providing for such seamen as were prisoners in *France*, was likewise rendered very evident; as was the danger of the island of *Jamaica*, and the betraying our naval councils to the *French*. These were all digested into an address, which was presented by the house of lords to the queen; to which her majesty was pleased to answer, that the address consisted of so many parts, that she could not then take notice of them. In the general, however, she pro-

mised she would consider of them, and give such directions as should be proper for the safety and welfare of the nation. I think it necessary to observe here, that at this time there were very warm disputes in the house of lords, as to the conduct of the *Admiralty* in the late reign, which had been censured by the house of commons, and in a great measure justified here; so that at this season all the strength of party was exerted on both sides, and the merit of a man was less considered, than the faction to which he attached himself. But it is time to leave so troublesome and unentertaining a subject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the service of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this, the sum of * was for the service of the navy: which shews, how desirous the nation was of supporting the war to the utmost, and of giving whatever was necessary for the service

^w The queen, by soft answers, endeavoured to pacify both houses, which indeed was the only measure left for her to pursue; since, if she had complied with either of their demands, it must have inflamed both. Her prudence, therefore, in this respect, was very conspicuous; though perhaps the rightest step she could have taken, would have been to have dismissed his royal highness's council as lord high admiral, and either restor'd the earl of Pembroke or appointed commissioners.

^x The reader will probably be surprized to find a blank in the text: but the reason is, that after using the utmost industry, I have not been able to discover what the sum was; which I find has been the case of other assiduous enquirers, as well as myself. I cannot, however, fall into their opinion, that there was no provision made for the ordinary of the navy this year; but rather imagine that, by some mistake, the sum appropriated for that service, was omitted in the votes; and therefore I leave this blank, in hopes that some more intelligent Reader may be able to fill it up.

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vice of the common cause, in hopes that it would be honestly and effectually laid out, for those great and salutary purposes for which it was so chearfully given.

THE king of *Spain* was very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to *Lisbon*, and therefore came to *Portsmouth*, and would have embarked on the first of *February*, if the wind had been at all favourable. Sir *George Rooke*, who was to command the fleet that escorted him, and the land-forces intended for his service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the transports were ready, and that it was impossible to have the intended number of great ships so early at sea, he proposed sailing with a small squadron to *Lisbon*, and waiting there for a reinforcement. This was a very wise, as well as vigorous step; for, according to the informations our court had received of the designs of *France*, they intended to have a great naval strength in the *Mediterranean*, which, if it came there earlier than our reinforcement would have been able to have shut up our small fleet then in those parts in the river of *Lisbon*, and have intercepted all our trade homeward-bound; whereas, if, according to sir *George's* scheme, the supply arrived early enough at *Lisbon*, our fleet would be so strong as to prevent the junction of the *Brest* with the *Toulon* squadron, and to perform other requisite services on the coast of *Spain*.

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y This was certainly a very wise and well-judged scheme, and is a clear and direct proof that sir *George Rooke* was very desirous of doing as much service as possible, and to lose no opportunity of being early in the action; his going on this expedition, with the small squadron under his command, was liable to many exceptions, if considered in a prudential light, and with a view to the credit of the admiral; but sir *George* disre-

IN the first part of his design, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wish; for sailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine passage, arrived with the squadron, and all the transports, in the river of *Lisbon*, on the twenty fifth; and after two days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial, his catholic majesty was conducted to shore by the king of *Portugal*, and most of the royal family. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deserves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of *Portugal* desired that, upon his coming on board the admiral's ship in his vessel of state, and striking his standard, the *English* flag might be struck at the same time; and that when his catholic majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard might be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of *Portugal* by the king of *Spain*; to which the admiral replied, that his majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged to execute his commission by immediately hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of *Spain*; as well as his *Portuguese* majesty; so that the flag of *England* was no longer struck, than the standard of *Portugal*.

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garded these, when they came into competition with the public service, and chose rather to risk his own character, than the nation's honour, and the prospect the king of Spain then had of success, of which his catholic majesty was extremely sensible, and gave upon all occasions, the most ample testimonies of his particular respect for sir George Rooke, and just acknowledgment of his services.

^z We take this passage from the account published by authority; and I think I may venture to assert, that sir George Rooke's

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Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the resolution of a council of war, sent a squadron of seventeen sail to cruize off Cape *Spartall*; which squadron was afterwards increased to twenty-two sail. On the ninth of *March* the admiral himself put to sea, and continued cruizing for a month. Rear-admiral *Dilkes*, who commanded the squadron beforementioned, on the twelfth of *March* in the morning, discovered four sail of ships standing to

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Rooke's concern for the Honour of the flag, became him very well, as an English admiral, whatever might be thought of it at home by some English statesmen. Bishop Burnet, speaking of our treaty with the king of Portugal, mentions a very extraordinary incident relating to this affair, which I find it necessary to transcribe. "In this treaty, an accident happened, that had almost spoiled all: the king of Portugal insisted on demanding the flag, and other respects to be paid by our admiral, when he was in his ports. The earl of Nottingham insisted it was a dishonour to England to strike, even in another king's ports. This was not demanded of the Fleet, that was sent to bring over queen Katherine; so, though Methuen, our ambassador, had agreed to this article, he pressed the queen not to ratify it."—"The lord Godolphin looked on this, as too inconsiderable to be insisted on; the whole affairs of Europe seemed to turn upon this treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day, for such punctilios, as a salute, or striking the flag; and it seemed reasonable, that every sovereign prince should claim these acknowledgements, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express treaties. The laying so much weight on such matters, very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the earl of Nottingham, and the tories seemed to lay hold of every thing that could obstruct the progress of the war; while the round proceeding of the lord Godolphin reconciled many to him."—The friends of the earl of Godolphin need be under no concern about this story, since it is most evident from the foregoing account of sir George Rooke's conduct, that the fact is false, and that the honour of the English flag was never given up.

the N. E.. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, viz. *The Kent*, *Bedford*, *Suffolk*, *Antelope*, and *Panther*. By eleven he came up with them, and the *Panther*, which was the headmost of ours, engaged them; the *Suffolk* getting the wind of them, did the same, as also the *Antelope*, and the *Dutch* privateer; insomuch, that the ship of sixty guns struck, after exchanging several broadsides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ship in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ship of sixty guns, she struck to him in a little time, having lost half her complement of men, as the third did soon after, which was a ship of twenty four guns; and in this action the *Panther* had her fore-top-mast shot by the board, the *Suffolk* her main-mast, and the *Antelope's* masts and yards were wounded. The two ships beforementioned of sixty guns, were galleon men of war, one called the *Porta Cæli*, and the other the *St. Theresa*, and came from *St. Sebastians*, with bombs, guns, iron bars, &c. being bound for *Cadiz*, where (as it was reported) they were to be fitted out for the *West-Indies*, the commodore *Don Diego Bicuna*, having a commission to command all the fleet designed thither; and in these ships were taken near seven hundred prisoners.

THE rear-admiral, by reason of bad weather, did not arrive at *Lisbon* till the twenty fifth of *March*, and then in going in he lost the *St. Theresa*, but most of the men were saved. Sir *George Rooke* being also returned, and meeting with orders to sail up the *Streights*, prepared to execute them. though at the same time, the admiral was extremely pressed

^a See the London Gazettee, 4008.

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led by his catholick majesty to undertake somewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which sir *George* was at this time encompassed were many and great. In the first place, the reinforcement he depended on, was not arrived; in the next, the Queen's orders were positive for the relief of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, and he knew how great a risque he ran, in case either of those places were taken for want of timely succour. The design formed in favour of king *Charles III.* to invade *Catalonia*, and make an attempt on *Barcelona*, was almost ripe for execution, and that monarch insisted very strenuously that the fleet should escort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral resolved to do as much as in him lay to satisfy all parties; and we shall hereafter see with how great judgment he executed this resolution: In the mean time it is necessary that we should explain the conduct of the administration in regard to the expedition of sir *Cloudesley Shovel*^b.

AFTER sir *George Rooke* sailed, the court received intelligence, that the *French* were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at *Brest*. This alarmed us very much, because it was not easy to foresee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, admiral of the *White*, who had under him sir *Stafford Fairbone*, vice-admiral of the *Red*, and *George Byng*, esq; then rear-admiral of the same squadron. The admiral was instructed, if he found the *Brest* squadron still in port, to send away the trade store-ships and victuallers, under a proper convoy,

to

^b See Burchet, the compleat history of Europe, for 1704. Oldmixon, &c.

to *Lisbon*, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the *Brest* Squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to sir *George Rooke*; and if it amounted to twenty two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir *Claudesley* executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the *Mediterranean* to oppose the *French*, he sailed thither about the latter end of the month of *May*.

WE have now seen how and why the succours intended for sir *George Rooke's* fleet, were so long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a short account of the manner in which he extricated himself out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the first place he signified to the prince of *Hesse*, who had the chief direction of his catholick majesty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on *Barcelona*, could be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majesty's affairs

c It was certainly well judged in sir *Claudesley Shovel*, to sail as he did with his fleet into the *Mediterranean*; for the *French*, perceiving how much their reputation suffered by the declension of their power at sea, resolved this year to make the utmost effort possible to recover it, grounding their hopes chiefly on our fleets being divided, and the possibility there was of attacking sir *George Rooke*, before any reinforcement could join him; which, but for this prudent method of sir *Claudesley Shovel*, might have been effected.

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faits in *Catalonia*. In compliance with this offer he failed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of *May* he arrived before the city of *Barcelona*. A priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of *Hesse*, that if some few forces were landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king *Charles III.* and receive him into the town. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of *May*, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred *Dutch* foot, a company of *Catalans*, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thousand men. They remained ashore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the *Dutch* had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the re-embarking the men, from an apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. The truth is, that he had great reason to abandon this design as he did, since, in the first place, the governor had discovered it, and had secured the chiefs of the *Austrian* party; and in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to such an undertaking^d.

In all this one would imagine the admiral must have been blameless, since he had done all that could be expected

^d There was certainly a very strong party in *Barcelona* for king *Charles*, and if they had had courage enough to have declared on the first arrival of the fleet, and had marched out, and joined the land forces as soon as they had debarked, something might have been done; but they continued consulting and intriguing, till the governour seized their chiefs, and then they themselves advised the prince of *Hesse* not to remain any longer before the place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

ed from him, and did not retire till his highness himself thought it requisite. Yet bishop *Burnet* has given such an account of it, as I must take the liberty of transcribing, that the public may see how necessary it is for an historian to be free from party. "Sir *George Rooke* came before " *Barcelona*, where the prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* assured " him, there were a strong party ready to declare for kin- " *Charles*, as it was certain there was a great disposition " in many to it. But *Rooke* would not stay above three " days before it; so that the motions within the town, " and the discoveries that many made of their inclinati- " ons, had almost proved fatal them. He answered, his " orders were positive; he must make towards *Nice*, " which it was believed the *French* intended to besiege." At this rate of writing, no man's fame or memory can be safe. Yet, to heighten the malice of this reflection, and to mislead the reader, if possible, still more egregiously, the bishop tells us a long story, previous to this account of the admiral's avoiding the *French* fleet and joining sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, which is a notorious falshood. The admiral landed his troops before *Barcelona* on the nineteenth of *May*; it was the twenty seventh before they had any intelligence of the *Brest* squadron; and then, instead of shunning, they chased them; and on the sixteenth of *June* the fleet was joined by sir *Cloudefley Shovel*, with the ships under his command; upon which it was immediately resolved, to proceed up the *Mediterranean*, in search of the *French* fleet. The whole of this affair was so perfectly well conducted, that our allies and our enemies join in commending sir *George Rooke*; and yet his memory is in danger of suffering with posterity, merely because he was commonly esteemed a tory. This it was that drew upon him

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him so many and so severe reflections, obscured all the great actions he did, and forced men, who valued themselves on their skill in writing, not only to misrepresent, but to falsify facts, that they might be able to cast such imputations upon him, as he never deserved e.

ON the twenty first of *May* the admiral steered for the isles of *Hieres* but in the passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the twenty seventh they joined again, and had sight of a large *French* squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for *Toulon*; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for *Lisbon*, in order to wait for a reinforcement; which was accordingly done f. On the fourth
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e See Burchet, the compleat history of Europe for 1704, and all the foreign journals of that year. In the Dutch edition of bishop Burnet's history, there is a large note to set right what the editor takes to be the effects of haste or confusion; and in that note, he states the facts and dates fairly from our Gazettes, and other public authorities, as I do. Burnet's history, vol. p. 5. 770.

f This is a fact, in which Burchet, Oldmixon, the compleat history of Europe, and all our writers agree, as taking it from the journals deposited with the secretary of the admiralty: and therefore we may easily know what to think of the following passage in Burnet's history, which follows immediately the account he had given of the admiral's leaving *Barcelons*, to sail for the coast of *Italy*, in order to prevent the siege of *Nice*, or to relieve it if it was besieged. " Having advice, says the bishop, that the French made no advances in that design, he turned his course Westward, and came in sight of the French fleet, sailing from Brest to *Toulon*, the advantage he had was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: What orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination; they got to *Toulon*, and he

of *June* our fleet passed through the *Straits-mouth*, and were joined two days after by *sir Claudesley Shovel*, with his squadron off *Lagos*: A council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on *Cadix*, which was soon found to be impracticable, for want of a sufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing without the consents of the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which was another discouragement to the service, because those princes could very seldom agree on any thing; so that, except sending some ships to the *Terceras*, in order to protect the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet, there was nothing done, that I can find, which ought to be considered as the consequence of this order. *Sir George Rooke* being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the seventeenth of *July*, in the road of *Tetuan*, where having declared he thought it requisite they should resolve upon something, after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon *Gibraltar*, for three reasons: *First*, because in the condition the place then was, there was some probability of taking it; which, in case it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garrison, would have been impossible. *Secondly*, because the possession of that place

“ he steered another way. The whole French fleet was then together in that harbour; for though the *Toulon* squadron had been out before, it was then in port.”

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place was of infinite importance during the present war: *Thirdly*, because the taking of this place would give a lustre to the queen's arms, and possibly dispose the *Spaniards* to favour the cause of king *Charles*.

THE fleet in pursuance of this resolution got into the bay of *Gibraltar* on the twenty first of *July*, and the marines, *English* and *Dutch*, to the number of eighteen hundred were landed under the command of the prince of *Hesse* on the *Isthmus*, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor; who answered, that he would defend the place to the last. On the twenty second the admiral at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot was spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered captain *Whitaker* to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them. This order was no sooner issued, than captain *Hicks* and captain *Jumper*, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and actually seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The *Spaniards* seeing this sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: However they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by captain *Whitaker*, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent in a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated, and the prince of *Hesse* took possession

of

of the place. I must, upon this occasion, observe, that as this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I must likewise put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in such a manner, as obliged the *Spaniards* to quit their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that, they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. The *French* indeed say, in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the *Spaniards* had neither garrison nor guns there; but this is far from being true, since there were above one hundred brass pieces mounted. After putting as many men, as could be spared, into the place, under the command of the prince of *Hesse*, the fleet sailed to *Tetuan*, in order to take in wood and water &c.

WHILE

g The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the court of London being informed of the weakness of the garrison of Gibraltar, gave sir George Rooke orders to attack it; which he did, and was so lucky as to make himself master of it, through the negligence of the *Spaniards*. Though this is the most accurate book published in relation to the last war, yet, in this point, the author is certainly mistaken. We have sir George Rooke's instructions in Burchet, his journals and orders are yet in being, and have been consulted in this work; but nothing of this sort has been discovered: and indeed, if any minister had been wise enough to contrive this scheme, he would undoubtedly have done himself justice, by claiming the merit of it. The French historian proceeds to say, that though Gibraltar was taken for king Charles III. yet it was never put into his possession, but has been ever since kept by the English, who, to say the truth, says he, have dearly purchased it, since it has cost them more pounds sterling, than there are stones in the fortifications. *Histoire militaire*, tom. iv. p. 421.

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WHILE they lay here, the *Dutch* admiral sent a flag-officer and six ships to *Lisbon*, with orders to return home, and a promise that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of *August* the fleet sailed again from *Gibraltar*, and had sight of the *French* fleet, which they resolved to engage. The latter declined this, and endeavoured to get away; but sir *George* pursued them with all the sail he could make ^b. On the thirteenth of the same month, which was *Sunday*, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and, forming a line, lay in a posture to receive him. They were fifty-two ships and twenty-four galleys, very strong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their galleys were placed in those squadrons. In the centre was the count of *Tholouse*, high admiral of *France*, with the *White* squadron; in the van the *White* and *Blue* flag, and in the rear the *Blue*, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet consisted of fifty-three ships; but the admiral ordered the *Swallow* and *Panther*, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a sixth, and two fire-ships, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van should push through our line with their galleys and fireships, they might give them some diversion ^c.

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^b This plainly proves, that no man was more inclined to fight, than sir *George Rooke*, when fighting was a prudent measure, and in the night of the eleventh, he had the good luck to force one of the enemy's ships ashore, to which they were forced to set fire, in order to prevent its falling into our hands. ^c See sir *George Rooke's* account of this battle, published by authority. This disposition plainly proved the admiral's great capacity, and how dextrously he could supply, by good management, any accidental deficiencies he might labour under.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gunshot of the enemy, the *French* set all their sails at once, as if they intended to stretch a-head and weather us; so that our admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the *French* admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the signal and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the *Royal Catharine*, the *St. George*, and the *Shrewsbury*. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they filed and stood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the *French* avoided it, and at last bore away. This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great advantages of the *French*; which I think those who understand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For first, their ships were bigger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the *French* admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the *Monk*, a sixty-gun ship of ours, commanded by captain *Mighells*;

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Mighells; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off, and her complement restored by the gallies. Fifthly, the *French* fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the *French* so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us ever after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of *Malaga* decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the *Dutch* an undisputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS^k.

It is not our business to C c 2 IT

^k I cannot conceive why bishop Burnet, and other writers, should say so much to the prejudice of their country, purely to lessen the reputation of the admiral, because he was thought to be a tory; but I can least of all account for the falsehoods that Burnet has thrust into his relation. He says, that most of the ships had twenty-five rounds of powder, when they began to fight, and that it had seldom happened that so much had been spent in an engagement at sea. The Dutch admiral Callemberg, in his letter to the states, says, that ten rounds would not serve above an hour, and that many of the English ships had no more when the engagement was over; so that if the bishop, intended to insinuate, that the want of powder was only an excuse, he is effectually refuted by this authority; and we see at the same time, how able he was to make calculations. He commends Shovel's bravery justly, but then adds, that Rooke fought at a greater distance. Now I think I have some authority to prove, that he is in the wrong in both; by which I mean,

It is true, that the *French*, according to their old custom, claimed the victory here. *Lewis XIV.* wrote a letter affirming this to the archbishop of *Paris*, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account, which I shall give the reader as near as may be from the gazette, and I shall then demonstrate, that the whole was no more than an artifice of state¹, in order

I mean, that though *sir Cloudesley Shovel* was a very brave man, yet here he had no great opportunity of shewing it, whereas *sir George Rooke* had and did. For, observe, reader, what *sir Cloudesley* says in his letter, printed in the compleat history of Europe, for the year 1704. His words are these, "the ships that suffered most in my division, were the *Lenox*, " *Warspight*, *Tilbury*, and *Swiftsure*: the rest escaped pretty " well, and I the best of all, though I never took greater pains " in all my life to have been soundly beaten, for I set all my " sails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along side " with the admiral of the white and blue. But he, out sailing " me, shunned fighting, and lay along-side of the little ships. " Notwithstanding, the engagement was very sharp, and " I think the like between two fleets never has been in any " time. There is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, " and some must shift all; a great many have suffered much, " but none more than *sir George Rooke*, and captain *Jennings*, in " the *St. George*."

I think it necessary to give the reader a transcript of this letter, from the French king to cardinal Noailles, because two great politicians have differed much about it. Bishop Burnet says, that, from the coldness of this letter, it was concluded in England, that the French were beat; so that in his judgment, this letter was the best evidence of our victory. Mr Oldmixon thinks just the contrary; the reader, by perusing the letter, will be able to judge for himself.

" COUSIN.

" The fleet which I have assembled in the Mediterranean, " under the command of my son the count de Thoulouse, admiral of France, has not only disappointed the designs " which the joint fleets of England and Holland had upon the " coasts of Catalonia, but has also put a glorious end to the " cam-

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order to lessen the ill consequences that were apprehended from the defeat, and therefore it is no less injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of sir *George Rooke's* memory, to make use of the distorted tales in this relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours. The substance of this *French* account was.

“ THAT, before the fight, the admiral ordered all
 “ the ships to make ready ; but the sea being calm, he
 “ gave directions for the galleys to prepare to tow the
 “ men of war off to sea. But at day-break the whole
 “ fleet weighed, by favour of a breeze that blew gently
 “ from the land, and made towards the enemy, whom
 “ the currents had carried out to sea. The 24th their
 “ fleet, in a line of battle, came up with the enemy ;
 “ the marquis *de Villette*, lieutenant-general, commanded
 “ the van-guard, having behind him in a second line the
 “ duke of *Tursis*, with his own squadron of seven galleys,
 “ and five of *Spain*. The count *de Tholouse* commanded
 “ the centre, having behind him the marquis *de Royes* with

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“ campaign, by a general engagement, which issued wholly
 “ to my advantage, though the enemies were considerably
 “ more in number, and had a favourable wind. Their first,
 “ efforts were sustained, and repulsed with so much valour
 “ by all the officers and equipage of my ships, animated by
 “ the example of their general, that the enemies could think
 “ of nothing during the fight, which lasted ten hours, but
 “ how to defend themselves, how to avoid being boarded
 “ several times by my ships, and to secure themselves by a
 “ retreat ; and though the count *de Thoulouse* did all he
 “ could the two following days to come up with them, he
 “ could not bring them to a second engagement. This happy
 “ success obliges me to return thanks to God by public
 “ prayers.”

“ four galleys ; and the marquis *de Langeron* had the com-
 “ mand of the rear guard, with eight *French* galleys under
 “ command of the count *de Toulville*. The enemy's van-
 “ guard was commanded by sir *Cloudefley Shovel* ; the center
 “ by sir *George Rooke* ; and the rear guard were the *Dutch*
 “ ships, commanded by vice admiral *Calemberg*. They
 “ had sixty ships of the line, many frigates almost as large,
 “ and bomb-vessels that did them good service. Sir *Clou-*
 “ *desley Shovel* advanced before the wind, separating himself
 “ from the center ; but observing that the marquis *de*
 “ *Villette* endeavoured to surround him, he kept to the
 “ wind, and sir *George Rooke* seeing the danger he was in,
 “ bore upon the king's fleet. The fight began about ten
 “ a clock, north and south off *Malaga*, ten or eleven
 “ leagues from shore, and lasted till night. The fire was
 “ extraordinary on both sides, and notwithstanding the
 “ enemy had the advantage of the wind, which blew the
 “ smোক upon the *French* fleet, they always kept as near
 “ the wind as they could, while the count *de Thoulouse* made
 “ all possible efforts to approach them. The marquis *de*
 “ *Villette* had so roughly used the van of the enemy, having
 “ obliged five of their ships to quit their line, that he
 “ would have entirely put the same into disorder, had not
 “ a bomb fallen upon his stern, and set it on fire ; which
 “ obliged him to quit the line, and extinguish the fire.
 “ Another bomb fell on the ship of the *Sieurs de Balliste*
 “ who quitted the line to refit, as did likewise the *Sieur de*
 “ *Grancy, Osmont, Rouvroy, Pontac, and Roche Allard*. The
 “ latter fought the ship of sir *Cloudesley Shovel* of 90 guns,
 “ though he had but sixty. The *Sieur Chammeffin* boarded
 “ three times a ship of the enemy, but quitted the same,
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“ seeing she was on fire in several places, but because of
 “ the smook could not see whether she sunk. The bailiff of
 “ *Lorrain* was killed with a cannon shot, and the *Sieur*
 “ *de Relingue* had a leg shot off. They were the count *de*
 “ *Thoulouse*’s two seconds, and distinguished themselves
 “ very much, following the example of their general.
 “ The enemy continuing to sheer off; the fight with the
 “ van ended about five, with the centre about seven,
 “ and with the rear towards night. The *French* fleet
 “ pursued with all their lights out; whereas the enemy,
 “ their flag-ships excepted, had none. The 25th the
 “ wind blowing again from the west, the enemy sailed
 “ towards the coast of *Barbary*, so that they lost sight
 “ of them at night. The 26th in the morning they
 “ were seen again about four leagues distance, the wind
 “ having again shifted to the east, which gave them a fair
 “ opportunity to renew the fight, but they did not think
 “ fit to approach. They were not heard of afterwards;
 “ whereupon it was judged they had repassed the *Streights*,
 “ and this obliged the count *de Thoulouse* to return the
 “ 27th to *Malaga*, with the gallies. We had about 1500
 “ men killed or wounded. But we do not know the loss
 “ of the enemy, which must be very great; and several
 “ persons said, that two of their ships sunk^m.”

I shall mention but one objection to this account, because
 I think I need not mention any more, and it is this, that
 whenever the *French* endeavour to account for their not

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^m See the compleate history of Europe, for 1704. p. 487.
 Histoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 426. Lamberti, tom. iii. p.
 324.

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pushing the affair farther, they insist on the mischief done them by the *English* bombs; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that there was not a single bomb-vessel in the *English* fleet. As to the force on both sides, and the loss of each, I shall give a particular account at the bottom of the pageⁿ; and having done this, I believe I need add nothing to

ⁿ The English fleet, at the time of this battle, consisted of five divisions, besides the Dutch, of which there were but eleven ships. The strength of the fleet will particularly appear from the following list, transmitted from the admiral to the queen.

| Ships Names. | Men. | Guns. | Men slain. | Wounded. |
|-----------------|------|-------|------------|----------|
| Royal Catherine | 730 | 90 | 27 | 94 |
| St. George | 680 | 96 | 45 | 93 |
| Namure | 680 | 96 | 18 | 44 |
| Shrewsbury | 500 | 80 | 31 | 73 |
| Nassau | 440 | 70 | 15 | 26 |
| Grafton | 440 | 70 | 31 | 66 |
| Monmouth | 440 | 70 | 27 | 62 |
| Montague | 565 | 60 | 15 | 34 |
| Panther | 280 | 50 | 10 | 16 |
| | 4755 | 682 | 219 | 508 |
| Barfleur | 710 | 96 | 6 | 24 |
| Eagle | 440 | 70 | 7 | 57 |
| Orford | 440 | 70 | 6 | 9 |
| Assurance | 440 | 66 | 6 | 14 |
| Warpight | 440 | 70 | 17 | 44 |
| Swiftsure | 440 | 70 | 13 | 33 |
| Nottingham | 365 | 60 | 7 | 19 |
| Tilbury | 280 | 40 | 20 | 25 |
| Lenox | 440 | 70 | 23 | 78 |
| | 3995 | 612 | 105 | 303 |
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to shew the folly of the *French academy's* causing a medal to be struck upon this occasion, as if, instead of being defeated

| Ships Names, | Men. | Guns. | Men slain. | Wounded. |
|------------------------|--------|-------|---------------|---------------|
| Prince George | 700 | 90 | 15 | 57 |
| Boyne | 500 | 80 | 14 | 52 |
| Newarke | 500 | 80 | 15 | 32 |
| Norfolk | 500 | 80 | 15 | 20 |
| Yarmouth | 440 | 70 | 7 | 26 |
| Berwick | 440 | 70 | 23 | 24 |
| | 3080 | 470 | 89 | 211 |
| Ranelagh | 535 | 83 | 24 | 45 |
| Somerlet | 500 | 80 | 31 | 62 |
| Firme | 440 | 70 | 25 | 48 |
| Triton | 230 | 50 | 5 | 21 |
| Dorsetshire | 500 | 82 | 12 | 20 |
| Torbay | 500 | 80 | 21 | 50 |
| Essex | 440 | 70 | 13 | 36 |
| Kingston | 365 | 60 | 14 | 46 |
| Centurion | 280 | 56 | 10 | 33 |
| | 3790 | 631 | 155 | 361 |
| Kent | 400 | 70 | 15 | 26 |
| Royal Oak | 500 | 76 | 20 | 33 |
| Swallow | 280 | 50 | 1 | 3 |
| Cambridge | 500 | 80 | 11 | 27 |
| Bedford | 440 | 70 | 12 | 51 |
| Monk | 365 | 60 | 36 | 52 |
| Suffolk | 440 | 70 | 13 | 38 |
| Burford | 440 | 70 | 11 | 19 |
| | 3765 | 540 | 119 | 249 |
| Admirals Division | 4755 | 682 | 219 | 508 |
| Sir Cloudsley Shovel's | 3995 | 412 | 105 | 303 |
| Sir John Leak's | 3080 | 470 | 89 | 211 |
| Rear-Admiral Byng's | 3790 | 631 | 115 | 361 |
| Rear-Admiral Dilke's | 5765 | 540 | 119 | 249 |
| | 19,385 | 2935 | 687 | 1632 Slain |

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seated, the *French* had gained a victory worthy the notice of posterity.

AFTER the *English* had in vain endeavoured to renew the fight, they repaired to *Gibraltar*, where they continued

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| | Slain. | 687 |
| | Wounded. | 1632 |
| Total killed and wounded, <i>English</i> . | | 2319 |
| | Dutch. | 400 |
| Total. | | 2719 |

Commission officers slain; captains, sir Andrew Leake, and cap. Cow: lieutenants four, and warrant-officers two. Commission officers wounded; captains, Mynge, Baker, Jumper, Mighells, Kirkson: lieutenants thirteen; warrant officers, thirteen.

As to the *French* fleet, it consisted of three squadrons; the first of 16 ships of the line, carrying in all, 1120 guns, and 7700 men; the white squadron in the center, consisting of 17 ships, carrying 1271 guns, 8500 men; the blue division in the rear, consisting of 17 ships, which carried 1152 guns, 7683 men. In all, 3533 guns, 24,155 men. Besides this, they had 9 frigates, as many fire ships, 12 *French* and 11 *Spanish* galleys, with two flutes; in all, 92 sail. On their side was slain, a rear admiral, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, and 5 sea ensigns. The count de Thoulonse himself wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the count de Religues had his leg shot off. The marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Monf. du Casse, commodore of a squadron; M. de Chateau Regnault; the count de Phelipeaux; the count de Cominges; M. de Valincourt; the count de Thoulouse's secretary; seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers were wounded; as to the loss of private men, it amounted in the whole, to 3048.

In this extraordinary medal, Spain is represented sitting, and her arm leaning on a pillar, with victory over her head; the legend thus: *ORÆ HISPANICÆ SECURITAS*, i. e. The security of the *Spanish* coasts. To shew how this was attained, we read in the exergue, *ANGLORUM ET BATAVORUM CLASSE FUGATA AD MALAGAM, XXIV. AUGUSTI, MDCCIV.* i. e. The *English* and *Dutch* fleet beat at *Malaga*, 24th of August, 1704.

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eight days in order to refit ; and having supplied that place to the utmost of their power with ammunition and provision, it was thought convenient to return to *England*, care being first taken to provide such a squadron for the *Mediterranean* service as might secure our trade, and render any designs of the enemy abortive. On the twenty fourth of *August* the admiral sailed from *Gibraltar* ; on the twenty sixth he gave orders to sir *John Leake* to take upon him the command of the squadron that was to remain in the *Mediterranean* during the winter, and then sailed home with the rest, where he arrived safely on the twenty fourth of *September*, and was received with all exterior marks of esteem by the ministry, at the same time that the populace shewed for him an unfeigned affection.

BUT though sir *George Rooke* had been happy enough to beat the *French* under great disadvantages, yet he was not able to baffle that spirit of envy which had persecuted him so long. There was a party that not only questioned his conduct and the late victory, but were willing to sacrifice the glory of their country, and, as far as in them lay, to propagate the idle stories invented by the *French*, as undoubted truths, purely to gratify their own spleen ; and this too in direct contradiction to the voice of the nation, as appeared by the many addresses presented to the queen,

P Sir *John Leake* had under his command, two ships of the 3d, nine of the 4th, four of the 5th, one of the 6th rate, and a fire-ship. His orders were to repair to *Lisbon*, from whence he was to send home the trade under a convoy of four men of war. He was likewise to take under his command such ships of the states-general, as remained in those seas ; and it was particularly recommended to him to take care of *Gibraltar*. Sir *George Rooke* carried home five 2d, twenty-five 3d, and four 4th rates, with six fire-ships, two hospital-ships, and a yacht.

queen, in which the courage, conduct, and fortune of sir *George Rooke*, are highly extolled. To put this matter, however, out of doubt, and to shew the true sense of the queen, and the ministry on this subject, it was thought proper that his royal highness prince *George* should introduce such officers of the fleet, as had deserved best, to her majesty: and accordingly on the ninth of *October* he presented, first, sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, who had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand: then captain *John Jennings*, commander of the *St. George*, upon whom her majesty's was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood, and at the same time *George Byng*, esq; and *Thomas Dilkes*, esq; the former rear-admiral of the *Red*, and the latter of the *White* squadron, were likewise knighted ^a.

WHEN the parliament came to sit, which was on the twenty third of *October*, new disputes arose, and great pains were taken to prevent sir *George Rooke's* conduct from meeting with public approbation: This, however, was without success; for the house of commons, in their address, made use of these words: "We beg leave to congratulate your majesty upon the great and glorious successes with which it hath pleased God to bless your majesty in the entire defeat of the united force of *France* and *Bavaria*, by the arms of your majesty and your allies, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of the duke of *Marlborough*, and in the victory obtained by your majesty's fleet, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of sir *George Rooke*." As it was known that these expressions gave offence to ma-

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^a Compleat history of Europe, Oldmixon, London Gazette, No. 4061. which Gazette is filled with addresses on the successes of the duke of *Marlborough*, and sir *George Rooke*.

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ny of the warmest friends of the ministry, who thought there was no comparison between the victories gained at *Blenheim* and *Malaga*; the house thought fit to express its sentiments more clearly; and having, on the second of *November*, taken into their serious consideration, the services both of the fleet and the army, they unanimously voted, "That her majesty be desired to bestow her bounty upon the seamen and land-forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions both by sea and land." To which her majesty very graciously answered, *That she would give her directions accordingly*. One would have imagined, that acts of so solemn a nature must have silenced such as pretended to doubt the services performed by the admiral and the fleet; and yet it hath since appeared, that some of our historians, and many of our memoir-writers have attempted to persuade us that, notwithstanding these decisions of the queen and parliament, the fleet did little or nothing, and that the fight at *Malaga* was a drawn battle; in which, however, they differ from the *Dutch*, who confess that it was the best-fought action recorded in history; and that the skill of sir *George Roke* convinced the *French*, that it was in vain to contest with the maritime powers the empire of the sea.

BEFORE we conclude the naval transactions of this year, it is necessary that we should again pass into the *Mediterranean*, in order to take a view of the services performed there by sir *John Leake*. The *Spaniards*, who were the best judges, found our possession of *Gibraltar* so great a thorn in their sides, that as they very lately prevailed

Compleat history of Europe, Oldmixon, debates in parliament, &c.

vailed on the *French* to hazard an engagement at sea, to facilitate their retaking of it, so they afterwards demanded, and obtained a squadron of *French* ships, under the command of mons. de Pointis, to assist them in carrying on the siege. The prince of *Hesse* having sent early advice of this to *Lisbon*, sir *John Leake*, in the beginning of the month of *October*, proceeded with his squadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the *French* were approaching with a force much superior to his, he found it necessary to return again to *Lisbon*. He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his absence. This enabled him to put to sea again on the twenty fifth of *October*, and on the twenty ninth he entered the bay of *Gibraltar* at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to storm the town on all sides, and had procured two hundred boats from *Cadiz*, in order to have landed three thousand men near the new mould. But sir *John Leake* entered so suddenly, that he surprized in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ship of 16, a store-ship full of bombs and granado's, two *English* prizes; and a *Tartane* and another frigate of thirty guns, which had just got out of the bay, was taken by an *English* ship that followed her &c.

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† Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe. Not only our own writers, but even the marquis de Quincy acknowledges the

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THE enemy, notwithstanding these discouragements, continued the siege, in expectation of a strong naval succour from *France*, and therefore sir *John Leake* resolved to land as many men as he could spare, to reinforce the garrison; which he performed on the second, third, and fourth of *November*, and continued still on the coast in order to alarm and distress the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth he ordered his smallest frigates to go as near the shore as possible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a descent; but this was done so slowly, and the troops feigned such a reluctance to land, as gave the *Spanish* general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his design in execution, and to salute them in such a manner with his great and small arms, as made them scamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The *Centurion* arrived on the twenty second of *November*, and brought in with her a *French* prize from *Martinico*, very richly laden; and at the same time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had sailed as far as was convenient into the bay of *Cadix*, and had discovered a very strong squadron there, which he apprehended would soon be in a condition to sail. Upon this and some other intimations, sir *John Leake* resolved to put to sea, and to stand with his fleet to the eastward of *Gibraltar*, that he might be the better able to take such measures

the truth of this fact; he likewise tells us of an attempt made by 500 men, who crawled up the mountain, and appeared on the back of the town; which they had certainly taken, if they had been properly supported; but he says nothing of the English forcing them over the precipice, and leaving their mangled carcases a melancholy mark of their own rashness, and their country-mens cowardice.

measures as should be found necessary, as well for the preservation of the place, as for securing the succours that were expected from *Lisbon* †.

ON the seventh of *December* arrived the *Antelope*, with nine transports under her convoy ; and two days afterwards the *Newcastle*, with seven more, having on board near two thousand land troops. They escaped the *French* fleet very luckily ; for when they were off cape *Spartell*, they had sight of mons. *Pointis*'s squadron, consisting of twenty-four sail of men of war, under *English* and *Dutch* colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under sir *John Leake* and rear-admiral *Vanderdussen* thereabouts, they did their utmost to join them ; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to sea on both sides to tow the ships, but the *English* observing that the men of war stretched themselves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to surround them, they made a private signal, which sir *John Leake* would have understood. This spoiled the measures of the *French*, who were thereby discovered, and put up their colours, and endeavoured to fall upon the transports ; but they got off by means of their oars, and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a small breeze from the south-West. By the arrival of these succours, the garrison was increased to upwards of three thousand men ; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requisite to keep the fleet, which by long service was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coast ; especially when it was considered, that mons. *Pointis* was so near with a force equal, if not superior to that

† Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Histoire militaire*, tom. iv. p. 450.

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that of sir *John Leake*. The prince of *Hesse* having acknowledged this to the admiral, he called a council of war on the twenty first of *December*, and having laid before them the true state of the case, it was unanimously resolved to sail with all convenient speed to *Lisbon* in order to refit, and to provide further supplies for the garrison, in case, as the *Spaniards* gave out, they should receive such reinforcements from king *Lewis* and king *Philip*, as would enable them to renew the siege both by land and sea. This resolution was as speedily executed as wisely taken, and the fleet arrived at *Lisbon* in the latter end of 1704, where we shall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by sea with greater vigour in the next year, than they had been at any time since the beginning of the war ^u.

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not prosecute the war at sea with so much vigour as might be expected from a nation so powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ships was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fall under the notice of parliament. In answer to this, I mean in the house of commons, it was said, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it must be allowed, that the board of *Admiralty* could not do more than the supplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly said by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The House having considered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the seventh of *November*, 1704, to the following

VOL. III. D d resolutions,

^u Burchet's naval history. Compleat history of Europe. The life of queen Anne, &c.

resolutions, viz. That forty thousand seamen should be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thousand marines. On the ninth they resolved that one hundred thousand pounds, should be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year; and that forty thousand pounds should be given to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision; and that ten thousand pounds should be given for making a wharf and storehouse at *Portsmouth*. These were great and glorious provisions, such as shewed that the people were desirous not to spare their treasure, where the credit of the crown and their own interest were at stake w.

YET in the latter end of this, and in the beginning of the succeeding year, certain enquiries were made in the house of lords, which did as great honour to that assembly, as they gave pain to some in the administration. A great clamour had been raised against the prince's council, for not paying sufficient attention to the merchants, and for having very little regard to the resentment shewn by that house against certain persons, and certain proceedings. Lord *Haverham's*, and some other lords warm speeches, raised a great heat; but before any address was made to the queen, two committees of enquiry were appointed; one to inspect the books at the *Admiralty-office*, in order to

w It must be observed, that the supplies were carried in the house of commons before the least notice was given by the ministry, that sir George Rooke had lost their favour. In this, there was a great deal of policy, because the majority of that house of commons were Tories; and if they had been at all aware of sir George Rooke's being forced to resign, or, as mr. Oldmixon phrases it, being laid aside, they might have been less inclined to receive from the ministry implicitly the terms of the supply.

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to see exactly what conduct the board had pursued, and the other to consider what was done at sea. This was certainly a very clear and methodical way of acting, and contributed to riv. laying open all the wrong steps, that had been winked at either on account of private friendships, or the prejudices of party. In the first place the house observed, that twenty two ships had been employed to cruize the whole summer, and they shewed, from their accounts returned to the *Admiralty Office*, that they had performed their duty so negligently, as not to have done more than from three ships, commanded by active captains, might justly have been expected. They likewise complained, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at sea : that mr. *Churchill* had not been at sea in any one year of this war : that mr. *Graydon* had been ashore all the last year, and that he had been employed, notwithstanding a former address for his discharge : That sir *James Wisbart*, though a rear-admiral, had the last year been sir *George Rooke's* captain : That sir *John Munden*, though he had not done his duty, had a pension of three hundred and nineteen pounds a year, &c. Though the queen could not be very well pleased with an address which reflected on the supineness of her royal consort, yet she concealed her dislike, and answered, Feb. 5, "Your address contains many observations, which I will consider particularly, and give such directions upon them, as may be most for the advantage of the public service."

D d 2 Thus,

* This address of the lords, was presented to the queen, on the 5th of February, 1704-5. It is, without question, one of the most valuable state-papers extant, as it is a noble instance of
of

THUS, between the two houses, the business of the nation, with respect to naval affairs, was very fully done. The lords took care to correct, or at least to point out, what was amiss in past transactions; and the commons made ample provision for the thorough supply of whatever was necessary in times to come. Yet in doing all this, some sharp expressions escaped, especially in the house of peers, which certainly flowed rather from a zeal to party, than any love to justice; which gave such disgust to sir *George Rooke*, that after all the honours had been paid him, he declined any further command, as desiring that the queen might be easy, and the nation well served, rather than that any opportunities might be given him of adding either to his reputation or estate. This is the true state of the case, as far as I have been able to learn; nor can I believe, what some warm people have ventured to assert, that the lord treasurer, *Godolphin*, procured sir *George* to be laid aside, in order to gratify the duke of *Marlborough*;
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of the true spirit of an English parliament. It shows, how enquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our constitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people true representations of the state of public affairs, that men may see how the money goes, which is said to be raised for their service, and not look upon the public, as a bad steward, that receives and pays without account. This, I will be bold to say, was the reason that this war was carried on so much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever since: for, when enquiries are frequent, frauds seldom happen; but when these are either discouraged, made only for form, or so turned as to serve the little purposes of parties, who under colour of discovering the faults of a ministry, mean no more than to become ministers themselves; things must go from bad to worse, and a spirit of plundering insinuate itself through all public offices.

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a suggestion better becoming the narrow spirit of a party writer, than the wisdom of that great lord, or the known calmness and equanimity of the noble duke. In consequence

Mr. Hornby, the reputed author of the famous caveat against the Whigs, which is now become extremely scarce, gives us the following reflections on the disgrace of this great admiral. " In 1704, says he, sir George Rooke, with a crew of cabin-boys, took the almost impregnable fortress of Gibraltar, so that at the same time, British trophies were erected eastward as far as the banks of the Danube, and her flags were seen waving on the towers of the most western part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. After this, under great disadvantages, both in the number, rates and condition of his ships, and above all, in the want of ammunition, he so far convinced the French how unequal a match they were for us on the watry element, that they never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how were his services undervalued by the faction here! Gibraltar, which was able to defy the power of Spain, and to baffle and waste their army in a fruitless siege, and which is like to continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a safeguard to our commerce, was a place of no strength or value, and the engagement at sea was celebrated with lampoons, instead of congratulations. Neither his actions in this war, nor in the last, his conduct in saving our Turkey fleet, or his courage in destroying the French ships at la Hogue, could prevail with them to allow him any share of skill or bravery; so that he is to wait for justice from impartial posterity, not only in these qualities, but one much more rare in this age, which he shewed in refusing to ask a privy seal for a sum of money remaining in his hands of what had been remitted to him; as he had not wasted it in monstrous bowls of punch, so he scorned to enrich himself by converting the public treasure to his own use, but justly accounted for it. These monuments, in spite of envy and detraction, will remain to his honour in the records of time, and his memory will live without the assistance, or expence of a lumpish pile of stones, clamped up against the walls of Westminster-Abby, as was bestowed to commemorate the loss of some of her majesty's ships, and the more valuable lives of many of her subjects, for want of common care and discretion."

quence of this measure, however brought about, a sort of thorough change was made in the *Admiralty*. Sir *Claude-ley Shovel* was appointed rear-admiral of *England*, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; sir *John Leake* was appointed vice-admiral of the *White* squadron, as sir *George Byng* was of the *Blue*; sir *Thomas Dilkes*, rear-admiral of the *Red*; *William Whetstone*, esq; rear-admiral of the *White*, and sir *John Jennings*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*. I have thrown these debates and promotions into the most regular order I could, for the reader's ease and my own, that I might the sooner return to action, and to the exploits of our sea force, under these new commanders; and though I have not observed the strict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the enquiries, I hope the reader will be satisfied with my manner of stating it. These formalities thus settled, let us now proceed to the transactions of the fleet under the command of sir *John Leake* in the *Mediterranean*, who shewed no less prudence and fortitude in preserving *Gibraltar*, than sir *George Roake* had done in acquiring it *.

THE *French* and *Spaniards*, as their own writers confess, were obstinate in their resolution of retaking *Gibraltar*, cost what it would. The eagerness shewn by king *Philip* on this occasion, had like to have been fatal to him; and the method he took to regain *Gibraltar*, had well nigh lost him *Spain*, by disgusting most of the nobility. Hitherto, the marquis *Villadarias* had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very

* See the *London Gazette*, No. 4090. *Burchet*, *Burnet*, *Oldmixon*, *Pointer's* chronological history.

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ry bad season, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however, removed him, and sent marshal de Tesse, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place, and at the same time, baron de Pointis was ordered to sail with his squadron from Cadix to block up the place by sea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of their being quickly masters of the city; and indeed the prince of Hesse found the French general so much better acquainted with the art of war, and so much better supplied with all things necessary, than the Spaniard had been, that he thought it requisite to send an express directly to Lisbon, to desire sir John Leake to come with all imaginable speed to his assistance. Sir Thomas Ditkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and these being embarked, sir John sailed from Lisbon on the sixth of March, to prevent the loss of this important fortress.

UPON the ninth of the same month, he had sight of cape Spartell, but not having light enough to reach the bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being discovered from the Spanish shore, intending to surprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making sail, as soon as he

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intended.

It was the great misfortune of king Philip, that few of the Spanish officers were able to serve him effectually; and yet none of them could bear the thoughts of serving under French men. His making marshal de Tesse captain-general, gave excessive offence, insomuch, that many of the principal nobility, and some who had considerable offices about his person, immediately entered into intrigues for driving him out again. Quincy, *Histoire militaire*, p. 441. *Memoires de la Torres, Lamberti, &c.*

intended. About half an hour past five, he was within two miles of cape *Cabretta*, when he discovered only five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from *Europa Point*; whereupon, concluding the garrison was safe, he gave chase to the ships, which proved to be the *Magnanimous* of 74 guns, the *Lilly* of 86, the *Ardent* of 66, the *Arrogant* of 60, and the *Marquis* of 56. At first, they made for the *Barbary* shore; but seeing our fleet gained upon them, they stood for the *Spanish* shore: at nine o'clock sir *Thomas Dilkes*, on board her majesty's ship *Revenge*, together with the *Newcastle*, *Antelope*, *Expeditious*, and a *Dutch* man of war, got within half gunshot of the *Arrogant*, and after a very little resistance, she struck, the *Newcastle's* boat getting first on board her. Before one o'clock, the *Ardent*, and the *Marquis* with two *Dutch* men of war, and the *Magnanimous*, with the *Lilly*, ran ashore a little to the westward of *Marbella*. The former, which the baron *de Pointis* was on board of, ran ashore with so much force, that all her masts came by the board as soon as she struck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffil to the midships, remained above water, which the enemy set fire to in the night, as they did to the *Lilly* next morning. After the engagement was over, our squadron got farther from the shore, and on the twelfth, looked into *Malaga* road, where her majesty's ships, the *Swallow* and *Leopard*, chased a *French* merchant-man ashore, of the burthen of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The rest of the enemy's ships, having been blown from their anchors some days before sir *John's* arrival, took shelter in *Malaga*-bay; and soon after, hearing the report of our guns, cut their cables,

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bles, and made the best of their way to *Toulon*. Upon this, marshal *de Tefse*, finding it absolutely in vain to continue the siege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the rest of his troops. *M. Pointis* was well received at the court of *France*, notwithstanding his misfortune, neither did the marshal *de Tefse* meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, since he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into *Gibraltar*, by the fifteenth of *March*, new stile, more than eight thousand bombs, and upwards of seventy thousand cannon-shot fired, though to very little purpose.

WHILE these great things were doing in the *Mediterranean*, sir *George Byng* was sent with a small squadron of cruizers, into the *Soundings*. He sailed in the latter end of *January*, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ships. As soon as he had seen these safe into the sea, he disposed of his squadron in such a manner, as he thought most proper for securing our own trade, and from meeting with the *French* privateers. Amongst other new regulations which had been the consequence of the merchants complaint, one was the sending a flag-officer to have the constant direction of the cruizers; which in this case appeared a very wise provision, since sir *George Byng*,

by
Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon: but all these are taken from the account published in the *Gazette*, No. 4116. The obstinacy of the two courts, in obliging their generals to continue this siege, when they were thoroughly sensible that it was to no purpose, proved the ruin of their affairs in Spain, at least for that campaign; and if it had not been for the accident of the earl of *Galway's* losing his arm by a cannon-shot, which occasioned the raising the siege of *Badajoz*, king *Philip* in all probability had been driven out of Spain. *Memoires de la Torres*, tom. iv. p. 304. *Quincy*, &c.

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by this disposition of his ships, was so fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty four guns, twelve privateers, and seven merchant-ships, most of which were richly laden from the *West-Indies*. The number of men taken on board all these prizes was upwards of two thousand, and of guns three hundred thirty four. This remarkable success made a great noise at that time; it was published by particular directions from the court, and has been since thought worthy of being inserted in a general history; and yet there is not a word said of the whole affair by Mr. Secretary *Burton*, who must have known all the particulars of it as well, or better than any man, which renders his omission the more extraordinary. This gave such a blow to the *French* privateers, that they scarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but chose rather to fall northward, in hopes of meeting with some of our ships homeward-bound from the *Baltick*. W2

See the Gazette, No. 4107. Sir George took at this time the following prizes.

| PRIVATEERS. | | Guns. | Men. |
|-----------------------------|----|-------|------|
| The Thetis, a man of war of | 44 | 250 | |
| Desmaria | 36 | 246 | |
| Philippo | 32 | 220 | |
| Constable | 30 | 210 | |
| Voler | 28 | 210 | |
| Royal | 26 | 200 | |
| Beringhen | 24 | 160 | |
| Songierail | 20 | 135 | |
| Miseric | 16 | 92 | |
| Marvailleur | 14 | 85 | |
| Pothoy | 10 | 70 | |
| Bonaventure | 10 | 70 | |
| Admirable | 12 | 75 | |

As also seven French merchant-ships, most of them richly laden from the *West-Indies*.

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WE are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of *Peterborough* and *Mumfry*, and sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, as joint admirals; and the first orders they received, were, to proceed for the *Mediterranean*, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty nine sail of line of battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombes, and other small craft. On the eleventh of *June* they arrived in the river of *Lisbon*, where they found sir *John Leake*, with his squadron, in great want of provisions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be supplied out of the stores brought from *England*, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of *June* a council of war was held, at which were present the two joint admirals, sir *Stafford Fairborne*, sir *John Leake*, sir *Thomas Dilke*, and *John Norris*, then captain to sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, of the *Dutch*, admiral *Albion*, vice-admiral *Wessenden*, rear-admiral *Vanderdussen*, and rear-admiral *De Jonge*; wherein it was determined to put to sea with forty eight ships of the line, *English* and *Dutch*, and dispose them in such a station between cape *Spartall* and the bay of *Cadix*, as might best prevent the junction of the *French* squadron from *Toulon* and *Brest*; or being

as was to be done. On

e Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the seaman picked out by the opposite party to rival sir George Rooke, and mighty expectations were raised on account of his being at the head of the grand fleet. There was likewise a good deal of pains taken to equip the ships he was to command in such a manner, as that he might want nothing abroad; but by his activity this year, justify their censure of what was done the last. We have a large account of this in the

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ON the twenty second of June, sir Cloudefley Shovel, with the fleet, sailed for Lisbon; from thence he sailed to *Algar bay*, and there took in his catholic majesty, who pressed the earl of *Peterborough* to make an immediate attempt on the city of *Barcelona*, and the province of *Catalunya*; where he was assured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed, the fleet sailed accordingly to *Barcelona* and arrived on the twelfth of August. After the troops were debarked, there were many disputes, whether the siege should, or should not, be undertaken; but at last the affirmative carried it; and then a proposal was made, that the fleet should land two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the marines, and that the *Dutch* should land six hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the first certain intelligence of the *French* fleet's being at sea, both seamen and marines should embark again immediately. It was next deliberated in a council of war, whether the admiral's instructions, in regard to the duke of *Savoy*, should be complied with or not; and it was resolved, that as the winter season was advancing, it was too late for the fleet to proceed for the coast of *Italy*. And at the same council of war it was determined to return to *England* the first fair wind after the twentieth of September.

ON

the earl of *Peterborough*'s conduct in Spain, written by doctor *Friend*, and in the partial enquiry into the management of that war, we shall have a copy of the resolutions taken in that very council of war. It is very clear from the original papers which have been preserved in relation to this affair, that the admiral from the time of his coming before *Barcelona*, to the reduc-

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ON the third of *September*, the prince of *Hesse* having formed a scheme for attacking fort *Mountjuic*, it was put in execution; and though it cost his highness his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of *Peterborough* who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy prospect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord *Peterborough*, were ordered by sir *Claudesley Shovel* to be in constant readiness to land. After this success, the siege was pushed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raised for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His catholick majesty having at length consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw four hundred and twelve shells into the town; and eight *English* and *Dutch* ships, under the command of sir *Stafford Fairbone*, being appointed to cannonade it from the sea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like a shore, the viceroy, desired to capitulate the twenty third, and the capitulation being signed the twenty eighth, the gate and bastion of *St. Angelo* was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of *Catalonia* so strengthened

ing of that city, did all that was in his power for the service of king *Charles*; and it likewise appears from the letters of the prince of *Hesse* to him, that he was the person principally depended upon by his catholick majesty, and to whom he constantly applied when distressed by his wants, or vexed by the earl of *Peterborough's* humours. It's no less clear from the same letters that the earl of *Peterborough* applied to him in like manner in all his difficulties, and was constantly assisted and relieved; so that one may safely assert, that sir *Claudesley Shovel* was the soul of this expedition, and that without him nothing was, nor indeed could be, done.

thened king *Charles's* party, that the whole principalty, *Rosier* only excepted, submitted soon after h.

ALL the world knows, that the reduction of *Barcelona* has been considered as one of the most extraordinary events that fell out in this, or, perhaps, in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which seem to attribute it, some to one thing, some to another; yet I will be bold to say, that nothing but the assistance given by our fleet could possibly have reduced it. When there wanted men to carry on the works, these were spared from the fleet; so were carpenters and engineers. While our army was before the place, captain *Leads* was sent to reduce *Denia*, and captain *Cavendish* to take *Terragona*, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty four and eighteen pound shot were landed for the supply of the batteries, except as much as would supply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garrison established there by king *Charles* the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred barrels of gun-powder, eight brass cannon, and all the three pound shot they had. On the first of *October* it was resolved in a council of war, that sir *Claudesley Shovel* should proceed for *England* with the best part of the fleet; that sir *John Leake*, with a strong squadron, should be left in the *Mediterranean*; that six ships should be left to attend the earl of *Peterborough*, two more remain at *Gibraltar*, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the request of his *Portuguese* majesty in cruising for the homeward-bound

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^h Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, for 1705, Life of queen Anne.

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Brazil fleet. In pursuance of these resolutions, sir *Cloudesley*, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the *Dutch Fleet*, passed the *Straits* on the sixteenth of *October*, and arrived happily at *Spithead* on the twenty sixth of *November*.

In order to convince the reader of the truth of what has been asserted, it may not be amiss to lay before him part of a letter written by sir *Cloudesley* to his royal highness the lord high admiral, dated october 12, 1705. containing an account of what past in the last days of this siege.

"The 17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and fourteen of them began to play, with very great execution, upon that part of the wall where the breach was designed; the earl of *Peterborough* came aboard, and represented to us the great necessity he laboured under for want of money for subsisting the army, and carrying on the siege of *Barcelona*, and the services in *Catalonia*, and in very pressing circumstances, desired the assistance of the fleet; upon which our flag officers came to the enclosed resolution, to lend the earl of *Peterborough* forty thousand dollars out of the contingent and short allowance money of the fleet. The 19th, we came to these resolutions, viz. To remain longer before *Barcelona* than was agreed on at first; to give all the assistance in our power, and to lay a fire-ship ashore, with two hundred barrels of powder; and a further demand being made for guns for the batteries, we landed fourteen more, which made up in all 72 guns, whereof 30 were twenty-four pounders that we landed here, with their utensils and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the sea, as our small store of shells, and the weather will permit. The 20th, a demand was made for more shot, and we called together the English flag-officers, and came to a resolution to supply all the batteries, with all the twenty-four and twenty-eight pound shot, except a very small quantity, which was accordingly done.

"The 22d, the prince of *Lichenstein*, and the earl of *Peterborough* having desired, at the request of his catholic majesty, that the town of *Lerida* might, for its security, be furnished with about fifty barrels of powder; and a further supply of shot being demanded for the batteries ashore, it was consi-

vanber following, after as glorious a sea-campaign, as either our selves or our allies could expect^k.

It is but just, in such a history as this, to mention our losses as well as our successes: among these I was in some doubt, whether I ought to reckon the taking a great part of our homeward-bound *Baltick* fleet, with their convoy, consisting of three men of war, by the *Dunkirk* squadron, of which we have a large account in the *French* historians; I say, I was in some doubt about this, as finding no notice taken of it, either by mr. *Burchet* or our *Gazettes*; but as I am satisfied that the *Dutch* writers would not be partial to our enemies in such a case, I find myself obliged to relate the fact as it is stated by them. The count *de St. Paul*, after the death of the famous *John du Bart* was looked upon as the best seaman in *France*, and therefore was promoted to the command of the *Dunkirk* squadron, in the room of mons. *de Pointis*. We had a squadron under the command of sir *Thomas Dilkes*, to watch that port, and another in the *Soundings*; yet mr. *de St. Paul* found means to get out with his squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at sea by several other privateers; on the twentieth of *October*, O. S. they fell in with our *Baltick* fleet, and having directed mr. *du Bart*, with

“dered at a council of war, and we came to the enclosed resolutions, viz. To furnish fifty barrels of powder for *Lerida*,
 “and to send so many more twenty four and eighteen pound
 “shot ashore, as would reduce the *English* to thirty rounds,
 “as likewise to be farther assistant upon timely notice.
 “The 23d at night, our breach being made, and all
 “things prepared for an attack, the town was again summoned, and they desired to capitulate, and hostages were
 “exchanged; on our side, brigadier *Stanhope*, and on the
 “enemies, the *marquis de Rivera*; and all hostilities ceased”.
 k *Burchet*, *Burnet*, *Oldmixon*, &c.

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with one of the men of war and the privateers, to secure as many of the *English* ships as possible, mr. *de St. Paul*, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was at last forced to yield, and the count *d'Illiers*, who commanded after the death of mr. *de St. Paul* (who was shot in the midst of the action with a musquet ball) carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-ships, into *Dunkirk*. I am extremely surprized not to find the least notice of this in any of the memoir-writers; but before I part with this fact, I must remark a very extraordinary saying of *Louis XIV.* when the news was brought him at *Versailles*. The person who told it, thought the king received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that there were three *English* men of war, and twelve merchant-men, carried into *Dunkirk*. *Very well*, returned the king, with a sigh; *I wish they were all safe in any English port, if that would restore me mr. de St. Paul*. This was certainly a very noble and generous speech, and it was by such testimonies of respect as these, that in the midst of his misfortunes the *French* king always maintained a succession of brave officers, ever ready to expose their lives in his service.

V O L. III

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¹ This I take from a private letter from Paris, published in the *Mercure historique*, 1705, and it is confirmed likewise by father Daniel, and other historians. Her majesty queen Anne shewed no less regard to merit on a recommendation from his catholic majesty. Captain John Norris (whom I take to have been the late worthy sir John Norris,) having distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner in the attack of fort Mont-juic, king Charles III was pleased to write a letter in his favour to the queen, who knighted him, and made him a present of a thousand guineas.

At home we had this year a signal instance of naval discipline, which therefore deserves a place in this work. One captain *Cross*, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, gave her up to the *French* in the channel, after a very slight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the *Triumph*, on the twenty fifth of *August*, sir *George Byng* being president, and having twelve captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men, and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that, his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty ; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was, that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her majesty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life ^m.

Our trade escaped, generally speaking, better this year, than it had done formerly ; for in the month of *November* there arrived ten *East-India* ships, that had for some time put into *Ireland* : a few days after there came thirty *West-India* men into the *Downs*, and the very same day nineteen vessels from *Barbadoes*, which were given over for lost. Yet all this could not quiet the merchants ; they still exclaimed grievously against the lord high

^m The evidence against this man was very full and clear, and a resolution having been taken to preserve for the future very strict discipline in the navy, it was resolved to make such an example of him as he deserved ; and this it was that induced the queen to suffer this sentence to be put in execution without any mitigation, except as to his imprisonment.

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high admiral's council, and things rose to such a height, that I find in some of the *Dutch* papers of that time, it was expected the queen would have restored the earl of *Pembroke*, and that his royal highness would be created lord high constable of *England*: but by degrees this affair blew over, for the prince's council were extremely wise in one particular; they constantly printed large vindications of their conduct, and accounted so plausibly for every thing that was charged upon them, that it was a very few only, and those too well versed in maritime affairs, who were able to distinguish where they were right, or where they were wrong; so that they never wanted a strong party for them amongst the people; and even at this day it is a thing very difficult, if not altogether impracticable to distinguish between the complaints that were excited by a spirit of party, and those that were really grounded in their miscarriages or neglectsⁿ.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of *Bourbon* in *Flanders*, and of driving them out of *Spain*, that when her majesty thought fit to recom-

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ⁿ Bishop Burnet gives a very different account of our affairs at sea in this year, from those that I have already cited from him, and therefore it is but just that I should give the reader this. "Our affairs at sea were more prosperous this year, than they had been formerly. In the beginning of this season, our cruizers took so many of the French privateers, that we had some thousands of their seamen in our hands. We kept such a squadron before *Brest*, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture out, and their *Toulon* squadron had suffered so much in the actions of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: by this means, our navigation was safe, and our trade was prosperous."

mend the *Spanish* war in a particular manner to parliament, the house of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the prosecution of those successes; and for the whole service of *Spain*, during the succeeding year, they gave no less than seven hundred twenty six thousand seven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the supply of the sea service, for the year 1706, forty thousand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thousand pounds, to the office of *Ordnance*, for the works at *Portsmouth*, and eighteen thousand two hundred ninety eight pounds seventeen shillings, one farthing, for ordnance stores and carriages for the eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm °.

AFTER so generous a supply, the ministry had nothing to consider, but how to employ it in such a manner, as that those, upon whom it was raised, might be satisfied that it was laid out for their service; and this produced a resolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was possible: but it being found by experience, that it was simply impracticable to man the navy, as the laws then stood, both houses, to shew their earnest desire to put maritime affairs into the best condition possible, came to certain resolutions, upon which a bill was brought in, that perfectly answered its purpose for that time, and enabled sir *Cloudesley Shovel* to man very fully and in good time the large fleet that was intended for the *Mediterranean* service.

° See the votes of the house of commons for the year 1705.

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vice p. This, with the settling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament. While the house was yet settling, sir *Edward Whitaker* had orders to assemble a squadron to convoy the duke of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, which he did in the beginning of the month of *April*, and having seen the yachts safe into the *Maize*, returned by the middle of the month 9.

BEFORE

p The house came to these resolutions on Thursday the 14th of March, 1705-6, and it is necessary, that the reader should be made acquainted with them. In few words, then they were, 1. That in order to man the navy for this year, the justices of peace, and other civil magistrates, be impowered and directed to make search after seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the said justices and civil magistrates cause such seamen, when found, to be delivered to such persons, as should be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty should be laid upon such persons as should presume to conceal seamen. 4. That a reward be given to such persons as should discover, and take up such hidden seamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That seamen being turned over from one ship to another, should receive the wages due on the former ship. 7. That able-bodied land-men be raised for the sea service. To bring these resolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and encrease of seamen, &c. was committed, should have power to receive a clause or clauses pursuant thereunto, and to receive a clause for discharging such seamen, and other insolvent prisoners as were in prison for debt, and delivering them into her majesty's service on board the fleet. Which being passed into an act, received the royal assent on the nineteenth. The same day the lords addressed her majesty on the same subject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper persons to consider of effectual means to restore the discipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next session. Pursuant to which her majesty a few days after, caused a long proclamation to be published for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above mentioned. q Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for the year 1706, life of queen Anne, &c.

BEFORE we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be necessary to give an account of the exploits performed by sir *John Leake*, whom we lately left steering his course for the river of *Lisbon*. In that passage he had the misfortune to meet with worse weather, and more contrary winds, than was usual in those seas, or in that season. This unforeseen accident, reduced the *English* squadron to some straits for provisions; and the *Dutch*, who are much heavier sailors, to far greater. However, when they were off cape *St. Vincent*, they met the *Pembroke*, *Roebuck*, and *Falcon*, which escorted a small fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely, or have been consequently more welcome. On his coming to *Lisbon*, sir *John Leake* had some proposals made him by the *Portuguese* ministry which were thought altogether impracticable in the then situation of things, and therefore sir *John* waved complying with them. In the beginning of the month of *February*, came letters from the *Admiralty*, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the *French* ports, and the resolution that had been taken by the *Spaniards* to send away their galleons directly from *Cadiz*, under a *French* convoy, for the *West-Indies*; which sir *John* was directed to consider, and, if possible, to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in *England*, when these news were made public; sir *John* being held as able and wishal as fortunate an admiral, as any in the service, and indeed deserved to be so reputed.

UPON

* See doctor *Friend's* account of the earl of *Peterborough's* conduct, and the impartial enquiry into the managements of the war in *Spain*; as also *Burchet*, &c.

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UPON this intelligence, he called a council of war on the sixteenth of *February*, in which it was resolved, to proceed directly with the ships then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel, *English*; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, *Dutch*; and with these, in case the galleons were in the harbour of *Cadix*, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or destroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the *Portuguese* ministry, directed to mr. *Methuen*, in relation to the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet; and strict instructions from the lord high admiral, for succouring his catholick majesty without delay. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former resolves, with these additions only, that as soon as they had executed their intended design on the galleons, they would make such a detachment as the *Portuguese* desired; and that whenever they were joined with the ships and transports from *England* at *Gibraltar*, whither they intended to repair, they would instantly steer

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of sending so great a fleet into the *West-Indies*, was of the last importance to the house of *Bourbon*; since, without a supply of money, the war could not be carried on in *Europe*; as, on the other hand, there was little hopes of preserving the *West-Indies* in a due dependance upon *Spain*, without furnishing them from time to time with proper supplies. If, therefore, we could have taken the galleons at this time, it is most evident, that we must have disappointed both their designs, which, as things then stood, would in all probability have obliged king *Philip* to retire into *France*, at least for the present, and perhaps have put it out of his power to return to *Spain*.

their course for the coast of *Catalonia*. When these resolutions were formed, and the day fixed for the departure of our fleet, sir *John Leake* acquainted mr. *Methuen*, then our ambassador at the court of *Portugal*, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our design; and upon mr. *Methuen's* application, such an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at least nothing more subject to disappointment, than human policy, so this point that was thought so necessary to our security, proved, by an accident altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our design. Sir *John Leake* sailed with the fleet under his command on the twenty fourth of *February*; but, when he arrived before fort St. *Julian*, the duke de *Cadaval*, who commanded there, discharged first several single guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole bastion upon him. This surprized the admiral very much, who sending to know the reason of it, the duke pretended that it was done in pursuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of *Portugal* could possibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This dispute hindered sir *John's* sailing, somewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the *Portuguese*, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, suffered five merchants-ships, two of which were *Danes*, and were supposed to have given notice of the design, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid.

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It was very justly suspected, that there was more of treachery than of mistake, in this odd affair; and indeed, whoever consults

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On the twenty seventh Sir *John Leake*, reached cape *St. Vincent*, where he met with an easterly wind which decayed so about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would suffer him to reach *Cadiz*. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had sailed with a very hard gale at east, on the tenth of *March*, N. S. the twenty seventh of *February* according to ours; so that it is plain that if he had sailed on the twenty fourth he must have met them. He was likewise informed, that they consisted of thirty six sail, that is to say twenty four galleons, and ten or twelve *French* privateers; from forty to fifty six guns, which were ordered to see them safe into the sea. Sir *John* steered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unless the east wind had left them when they were at the height of cape *St. Vincent*. Next morning he saw two sail ahead, to which the fleet gave chase. About six the *Dutch* vice-admiral *Wassenaar* took one of them, and soon after the other was taken by the *Northumberland*; they proved to be *Spanish* ships bound for the *Canaries*; and as they sailed from *Cadiz* the day after the galleons, it was thought needless to continue the chase longer.

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consults the history of the war in Spain, as written under the direction of lord *Galway*, will find sufficient reason to believe, that the *French* had always a strong party in the court of *Portugal*, who made it their business to thwart vigorous measures, and to give all the checks possible to the schemes formed by the allies, for pushing on the war with vigour, from the side of *Portugal*; and this was sometimes so bare-faced, that *Mr. Methuen* was constrained to threaten them into better behaviour.

u The masters of these two prizes, owned to
fir

442 NAVAL HISTORY

WE are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king *Charles III.* He had been left in the city of *Barcelona* with a very small garrison, while the earl of *Peterborough* went to conquer the kingdom of *Valencia*, which he very happily accomplished, though with a very considerable force. The *French* and *Spaniards* in the mean time were projecting the destruction of king *Charles's* affairs at a single blow; and it must be acknowledged, that their scheme was so well laid, that nothing, but a few untoward accidents, could have disappointed it. This design of theirs was to shut him up in *Barcelona*, which city they intended to attack by land and sea, in the beginning of the month of *March*, when they looked upon it as a thing impossible for our fleet to have succoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The care of the land army was committed to marshal *Tesse*, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was so crossed in all his undertakings by the grandees of *Spain*, that he could do nothing; I say, which ever was the case, so it was, that when the count *de Thoulouse* was ready to sail with the *French* fleet from *Toulon*, the *Spanish* army was in no condition to form the siege; so that the whole month of *March* was spun out in preparations, and the place was not

sir John Leake, that they had intelligence at *Cadiz* of his design, and that this induced the galleons to sail as they did. Now, to understand this perfectly, it is necessary to observe, that the order for the embargo was obtained on the 22. The two *Danish* ships were permitted to sail on the 23d. Sir John Leake with his fleet, was retarded, as we have related in the text, on the evening of the 24th, and did not sail till late on the 25th.

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not invested till the beginning of *April*. This design was very early discovered here, and advice was sent of it to sir *John Leake* before he sailed from *Lisbon*; but it does not appear, that either the earl of *Peterborough*, or king *Charles*, apprehended this mischief in time, otherwise the king would have been provided with a better garrison, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater resistance. After missing his design on the galleons, the fleet, under the command of sir *John Leake*, repaired to *Gibraltar*, where he received a letter from his catholic majesty, entreating his immediate assistance, in terms which sufficiently discovered the distress he was in, and the apprehensions he was under.

THE

This account I have taken from the French historians, Quincy, *histoire militaire*, tom. v. p. 204. Lamherti, tom. iv. p. 146. P. Daniel. * The stile and contents of king Charles's letter to sir John Leake, are so singular, that they certainly deserve the reader's notice.

" I the KING,

" Admiral LEAKE,

" I am disposed to take upon me this occasion to advise you the high risk this principality and my royal person is found in; for I make no doubt before to-morrow the enemy will molest us. They have already blockaded me with a squadron, and their army is now almost in sight of this city, and by their quick marches, have obtained some posts, which, if they might have been prevented, would very much have hindered their designs.

" I am resolved, although I find myself with such a small garrison (as a thousand men of regular troops, and four hundred horse) not to leave this place; for, in the present conjuncture,

THE king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. Tasse came before the place with a numerous army, and the count de Thoulouse landed ammunition and provision sufficient for the service of an army of thirty thousand men for two months; so that it is very evident, the French did all that could be expected from them by sea; and if their endeavours had been as well seconded on shore, the place had undoubtedly been lost. But it so fell out, that the *Sieur de Lepara*, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect master of his trade. He made a mistake at the beginning, which lost him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they lost him by a shot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, so that when they came to make an assault on the place, they were repulsed with considerable loss. These circumstances I thought it necessary to relate, previous to our account of

" juncture, I have considered, that my going hence will be the
 " loss of the city, and consequently of all the other places
 " which the happy success of the last campaign hath reduced
 " to my obedience; for which reason, it is my opinion to risk
 " all, and venture the casualties that a siege is incident to,
 " putting just trust and confidence in your known zeal towards
 " the great forwarding the common cause, making no doubt,
 " how much you have contributed towards the succours for-
 " wardness. I hope in a few days you will appear before this
 " place, where your known valour and activity may meet
 " with a glorious success, for which I shall again constitute
 " you the credit of my royal gratitude.

" Given at Barcelona, the 31st of March, 1706.

" I the KING.

" By command of the king my master,

" HENRY DE GUNTER."

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of sir *John Leake's* proceedings; and having now shewn the errors, mistakes, and misfortunes of the *French* and *Spaniards* before *Barcelona*, we will return to our fleet, and the measures taken for relieving king *Charles* by raising the siege &c.

ON the third of *April*, commodore *Price*, with six *English* and as many more *Dutch* men of war, joined sir *John Leake*, who, in a council of war held on the sixth, resolved, in obedience to king *Charles's* letter, to sail immediately to *Barcelona*. In pursuance of this resolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in *Altea-Bay*, and the next day had intelligence, that sir *George Byng*, with a squadron from *England*, was coming up; three days after they were joined by commodore *Walker*, with his squadron, as they had been the day before by sir *George Byng*; and then it was determined to sail north of *Majorca*, and that each ship should make the best of her way without staying for the rest. Upon the twenty sixth the earl of *Peterborough* came off from *Terrazona*, with a squadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board, and when he came to the fleet, hoisted the union-flag on board the *Prince George*, as admiral and commander in chief. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his proposals, and indeed their rejecting them saved the place; since before his arrival, sir *George Byng*, sir *John Jennings*, and admiral *Wassenaer*, had anchored in the road of *Barcelona*, and

Y All the *French* historians agree, that their design on *Barcelona* miscarried through their own fault, and, generally speaking, relate the whole affair as I have done in the text. But if any reader of a more curious and critical disposition than ordinary, would see a long and exact detail of this affair, he may be satisfied in the admirable memoirs of *M. de Feuquieres*, Tom. iv. p. 151.

and by the contrivance of sir *George Byng*, a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town^a. On the twenty seventh in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of *Barcelona*, without meeting with the least opposition; for the count *de Thoulouse* having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to sail away with the *French* fleet to *Toulon*; which obliged the land army (as we shall hereafter see) to raise the siege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more surprizing, and must have been consequently the more grateful to king *Charles*, and all his faithful subjects, since it prevented their destruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place that very night, when, considering the extreme weakness of the garrison, their success could scarce be doubted^a.

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, *M. de Tefse* thought fit to raise the siege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the *French* historians, profess themselves equally at a loss to account. His army consisted still of fourteen thousand men, the succours thrown into the place, did not exceed six thousand; so that it was very strange he should leave behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty seven mortars, two thousand

^a All these brisk and extraordinary measures, which appeared by the event so indispensably necessary, were concerted as well as executed, by our admirals only; the earl of Peterborough, though he had been constantly before of a sentiment directly different, when he saw them put in practice, and foresaw (as he easily might) their good effects, very judiciously approved them. Impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, p. 101. ^a Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, Feuquieres, de Larrey, &c.

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thousand bombs, ten thousand grenades, forty thousand cannon-shot, two hundred barrels of musquet-shot, five thousand barrels of powder, eight thousand swords, eighteen thousand sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undestroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a present to the besieged, by way of compensation for the trouble they had given them. Yet to me, the cause of this is pretty evident^b; the marshal saw himself under the necessity of regaining the kingdom of *Castile*, by a strange sort of a march, first into *Roussillon*, then round by the *Pyrenees*, and so through *Navarre*, which constrained him to leave his sick and wounded in his camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of *Peterborough's* clemency: and, I make no manner of Question, that he chose to let things remain as he did, that these helpless people might obtain the more favour; which, though needless, when he had to do with an *English* general, was nevertheless humane in him. The admiral took to himself and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the most important, and withal one of the most honourable, that happened throughout the war^c. His most catholick majesty, on the other hand,

^b The accounts that I have given of the raising this siege, are taken from French historians, who are certainly like to be best informed, and, with respect to the stores left behind, most impartial: and this, I suppose, is sufficient to satisfy the most critical reader, as to the difference between my computations and those he may meet with in some other histories.

^c This appears by sir John Leake's letter to the prince's secretary, dated at Barcelona, May 1st, 1706, in which, among other things, he says, "The 27th of last month I got to this place, and in a lucky time to rescue it from falling into the enemies

was no less ready in paying a just tribute of praise and respect to his merit ; so that, if ever there was a fact so well established as to be out of all dispute it is this, that *Barcelona* was relieved by sir *John Leake* ^d.

THE

" enemies hands, for they expected to have been stormed the
 " next night. Count Thoulouse, with the fleet under his com-
 " mand, which consisted of about 28 of the line, retired the
 " night before ; but if it had pleased God, that the wind had
 " continued that brought sir George Byng, to me, I believe I
 " should have been able to have given you a much better ac-
 " count of his strength. This comes by captain George De-
 " lavale, who is sent by my lord Peterborough, with the king
 " of Spain's, and his lordship's own letters to her majesty in
 " the *Faulcon*, which ship his excellency has appointed Mr.
 " Robert Delavale, brother to captain Delavale to command".

^d A more pregnant proof of this cannot be had, than from the following letter of his catholick majesty, to sir John Leake, before the relief of *Barcelona*, indeed ; but which evidently shews, that the king placed all his hopes in our naval force, and expected from sir John Leake alone, that it should be exerted for his preservation. This letter to say the truth is so honourable to the British arms, as well as to the very worthy man to whom it is addressed, that I thought fit to transcribe the the whole, otherwise, the last paragraph might very well have served my purpose.

" SIR,

" It is with no small satisfaction, that I have been informed,
 " from the earl of Peterborough's letters, of your happy ar-
 " rival upon the coast of Valencia. I doubt not, but you have
 " heard of the loss of Montjuic, and of the condition my town
 " of *Barcelona* is in, where I was willing to suffer myself to
 " be besieged, and to endure all the hardships and accidents of
 " war, to encourage both the garrison and my subjects, by my
 " presence, to make a long and vigorous defence.

" It seems, by the enemy's motions, they have already
 " received notice of your approach ; but instead of thinking to
 " retreat, they have redoubled their efforts, and fire upon the
 " breach, which will be in a condition to be stormed after to-
 " morrow at farthest ; and in all appearance, they will make a
 " desperate attempt to render themselves masters of this town
 " before the fleet can arrive with the succours. " Hence

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THE next great service that was attempted, was the reducing *Alicant*; and in sailing thither, putting into *Altea*-bay, the admiral received notice, that *Carthagena* was disposed to submit: upon which sir *John Jennings* was sent to that city, who returned on the twenty fourth of *June*, after leaving a garrison in the place. But with respect to *Alicant*, the governor refused to surrender, and therefore it was resolved to besiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at sea. To facilitate this, seamen were landed from the fleet, and sir *George Byng*, with five ships, anchored in a line so near the town, that he quickly dismounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the sea, were no fewer than one hundred and sixty. On the twenty eighth in the morning, it was resolved to attack the place on all sides; and with this view sir *John Jennings* landed the marines he

Vol. III. F f brought

" Hence you will judge of the indispensable necessity there
 " is, that you should do your utmost endeavours to relieve us
 " without loss of time, and bring the fleet directly hither, together
 " with the troops, to my town of Barcelona, without stopping
 " or disembarking the forces elsewhere (as some other persons
 " may pretend to direct you) for they can be no where so
 " necessary as in this town, which is at the very point of being
 " lost for want of relief. Wherefore I pray God to have you
 " in his holy protection, and expecting the pleasure of seeing
 " you as soon as possible, I assure you of my perfect esteem
 " and acknowledgement.

" CHARLES.

" Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706.

" P. S. Sir, you will discern the condition we are in by our
 " letters; and I hope you will come as soon as possible to
 " save us, of which you alone shall have the glory. For the
 " rest, I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter."
 " Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe for 1706,
 life of queen Anne, &c.

brought from *Carthagena*. About nine in the morning the ships had made a breach in the round tower, at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the easternmost bastion; when the land forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and serjeant, advancing, without order so to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats, under command sir of *John Jennings*, went directly to sustain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting ashore, captain *Evans* of the *Royal Oak*, made the breach first, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain *Pasfenger*, of the *Royal Anne*, followed, and next to him captain *Watkins*, of the *St. George*, with some seamen. Sir *John Jennings* with the rest of the seamen and forces, who were in possession of the suburbs, moved on to support them; who coming into the town secured the posts, and made proper dispositions until the rest got in, when *Mahoni* retired into the castle, left them in possession, with the loss of but very few men; colonel *Petit*, however, was killed in the suburbs, standing arm in arm with sir *John Jennings*, by a small shot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raising a battery against the wall of the town; besides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the sea or land forces, and not more than eighty wounded, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* had a continued communication from one house to another, and fired on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpose.

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N E X T day brigadier *Gorge*, who commanded the troops before the place, summoned count *Mahoni* to surrender, which he absolutely refused to do; but the ships continuing to canonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garrison, which consisted mostly of *Napolitans*, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithstanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier *Gorge* took possession of it, and was appointed governor &c. It was even then much disputed whether this place was of any use, and whether the time and men lost before it were not absolutely thrown away. But, be that as it will, the conduct of sir *John Leake*, and the courage of his officers and seamen are no way impeached thereby, nor does it at all lessen the glory of this action, which was one of the boldest that ever was performed by men, that it was undertaken to little or no

F f 2

purpose

ed by the fleet, is fully confirmed by the author of the enquiry into the management of the war in Spain, who gives us the following account of this transaction, p. 135. " Brigadier " *Gorge's* troops, which were so much wanted in Castile, " really contributed very little towards the reduction of Ali- " cant; for as the fleet, without any assistance from the army, " had made themselves masters of Carthagea, not long before, " by the exemplary courage and conduct of sir George Byng, " and sir John Jennings; so now the squadron, which sir John " Leake had ordered sir George Byng to command for that " purpose, bombarded and cannonaded the town of Alicant " with so much success, that in a few days they made two " practicable breaches in the wall, between the east and west " gates, which the sailors bravely stormed; and sir George " Byng, being in possession of the place, forced open the gates " to let the land-forces in, who having lost their engineer Petit, " were not yet even masters of the suburbs."

[Burchet, compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne.]

purpose h. Thus much is certain, that soon after the taking of *Alicant*, king *Philip's* forces were entirely driven out of *Arragon*, and that whole kingdom reduced to the obedience of his competitor.

AFTER the reduction of *Alicant*, sir *John Leake*, in the beginning of the month of *September*, sailed to *Altea*-bay, from whence he sent sir *John Jennings* with his squadron, intended for the *West-India* service, to refit at *Lisbon*. He next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, which was to be commanded by sir *George Byng*, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were to reduce the islands of *Ivica* and *Majorca*. These islands not only belong to the crown of *Spain*, but their situation rendered them very necessary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of supplying the places they had lately reduced with provisions, and securing a proper retreat for their smaller vessels, whenever it should be found necessary to keep a squadron in those seas during the winter. It does not appear, that the *Spanish* court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being entirely occupied with the thoughts of preserving *Minorca*, which was looked upon as the island of greatest importance, and therefore most of their regular troops were there i.

Or

h The truth of this fully appears in a letter from brigadier *Gorge* to sir *John Leake*, in which he complains of being left in the midst of enemies, in so distressed a condition, that, unless sir *John* was able to relieve him, he declared that he should find himself obliged to abandon it.

i Burchet, compleat history of Europe, for 1706. Life of queen *Anne*.

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ON the sixth of September, sir John sailed from *Altea*-bay, and on the ninth anchored before *Ivica*. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt, &c. and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore on the first summons they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and King *Charles III.* proclaimed ^k. On the thirteenth the fleet sailed for *Majorca*, and arrived on the fourteenth before *Palma*. This island, which is one of the finest in the world, abounded with all the necessities of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the *Conde de Alcudia*, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of king *Philip*, and when the admiral summoned him, sent him a *Spanish* answer, "that he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation. Sir *John Leake* left a garrison in *Porto-Pin*, and two Men of war to carry off the *Conde*, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to king *Charles III.* and on the twenty third of the same month he prosecuted his voyage for *England*. Before his departure, he received

F f 3

^k Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, life of queen Anne, &c.

a letter from his catholick majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged the services he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions. On the second of *October* sir *John* passed the *Straits*, and on the fourth, when he was off the south cape, detached sir *George Byng*, with the winter-squadron, for *Lisbon*. On the seventeenth he arrived safe at *St. Helen's*, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into *Portsmouth*. And thus ended as successful a sea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other history.

SIR *Stafford Fairborne*, then vice-admiral of the *red*, was appointed, with a small squadron, to look into the mouth of the river *Charent*, with orders also to destroy such ships as the enemy might have at *Rochfort*. He sailed for this purpose in the latter end of the Month of *April*, and after continuing at sea about three weeks, he returned to *Plymouth*, with a few prizes. Soon after he received orders to sail for the *Downs*, from whence he was quickly ordered over to *Flanders*, to assist in taking *Ostend*. Arriving before that place, he stood in so near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was soon after ordered to *Newport*, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to *Ostend*. A scheme had been formed by some of the land-officers for destroying

¹ See the London Gazette, No. 4272, in which there is a large account of the capitulation with the vice-roy of Majorca, which shews, that sir John Leake was a very able man in the closet, as well as the field, and knew how to treat, as well as how to act in a rougher manner.

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destroying the little vessels belonging to that port ; but, when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever vessel or ship attempted to go in, must inevitably be much exposed to the platform of guns ; so that there seemed but little hopes of attempting any thing against the ships by sea, which lay all in a cluster close to the key, on the backside of the town ; but there were letters in the camp which insinuated, that as soon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raised, and some bombs thrown into the place, the *Spaniards* in garrison, assisted by the seamen and burghers, would oblige the *French* garrison to yield m.

ON the nineteenth of *June* the trenches were opened before the place ; sir *Stafford Fairborne*, with his squadron, cannonaded it by sea, and at the same time two bomb-vessels were sent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir *Stafford* likewise caused all the small frigates to run in as near the town as possible, and to discharge their broadsides ; which they did with so little damage to themselves, and so great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himself (as he pretended) under a necessity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth. And thus the city of *Ostend*, which had formerly held out so many months, was taken in a Week ; though, besides the *Spanish* garrison, count *de la Mothe*, was there with

Ff 4

m Burchet, Iediard, compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne, Mercure Historique, &c.

a considerable body of *French* troops, which he undertook should not serve again in six months; and, as one of their own writers pleasantly says, it had been very happy for *France* if he had for himself undertaken never to serve again. After the surrender of *Ostend*, sir *Stafford Fairborne* returned to *Spithead*, to assist in conveying a body of troops that were intended for a descent^a.

BEFORE we speak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, it will be requisite to say something of the intended descent which we have just mentioned: this was a design framed upon the representation of some *French Hugonots*; particularly of the famous marquis *Guiscard*, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the queen. The land-forces designed for this service consisted of very near ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl *Rivers*; under him by the lieutenant generals *Earle* and *de Guiscard*: the earl of *Essex*, and lord *Mordaunt*, eldest son to the earl of *Peterborough*, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of *August* the fleet under the command of sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, sailed from *St. Helen's*; but not being joined time enough by the *Dutch*, this project proved

^a In the siege of *Ostend*, the duke of *Marlborough* gave signal proofs of his personal courage; for coming to make a visit to *M. d'Auverquerque*, he went into the trenches, where he staid a considerable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy who had slackened their fire before, renewed it with excessive violence, as soon as they knew, by the salute of the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp. In doing this, contrary to his usual custom, he shewed, that when he was more careful of his person, it was out of respect to the service, and not for any want of that temper of mind which commonly passes for heroism.

proved abortive ; and it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to *Lisbon* with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his catholic majesty °.

It does not appear, that, after their disappointment in this scheme of making a descent on *France*, the ministry came to any resolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been trusted to the wisdom of the admiral, sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it sailed for the *Mediterranean*, viz. the sixth of *September*, and being in the *Soundings* on the tenth of the same month, the *Barfleur*, a second rate, sprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the admiral to send her home, and to take the earl *Rivers*, and his principal officers, into his own ship the *Association*. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, infomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of *Lisbon*, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty transports; but he had the good luck to find the rest of the fleet arrived before him, so that he began immediately to prepare for action, and sent two ships of sir *George Byng*'s squadron to *Alicant*, with money and necessaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of *Galway*, which was in very great want of them p.

WHILE he was thus employed, he heard, with great regret, of the disorders that had fallen out in the *Spanish* court

o Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Merçure historique, Annales of queen Anne, &c.* p Burchet, Oldmixon, *life of queen Anne, compleat history of Europe for 1706, &c.*

court and in our army. It is very hard to say, who was, or who was not, in the right; but this is certain, that in consequence of these disputes king *Charles III.* lost his interest among the *Spaniards*, and though he was once master of *Madrid*, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into such confusion, that the admiral at *Lisbon* could scarce tell what he had to do, or how he was to act for his catholic majesty's service, and therefore thought it requisite to send colonel *Worsley* to *Valencia*, in order to receive from the king himself and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the king of *Portugal* died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom into some confusion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before observed, that the *Portuguese* ministry acted in a manner no ways suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worse and worse, and whatever sentiments the new king might be of, his ministers ventured to take some such steps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of sir *Cloudefley Shovel's* temper, of which we shall give the reader an instance.

IN

In order to be better informed of the particulars here mentioned, the reader may consult our larger historians, the collections of *Lamberti*, and the memoirs of the count de la *Torres*. The narrow bounds prescribed to my work, will not allow me to enter deeply into political disquisitions, for that would draw me beside my purpose, so that whenever I touch upon them, it is only to preserve the connection that is necessary to render the accounts I give of naval affairs easily, and fully, understood.

In the beginning of the month of *December*, the admiral having appointed some cruising ships to proceed to sea, as they were going out of the mouth of the river, the *Portuguese* fired, at least threescore shot, at them, to bring them to an anchor, which he perceiving, sent orders to our captains to push their way through; and accordingly they did so, without so much as returning one shot at the forts. The court of *Portugal*, upon his representing to them this barbarous usage, pretended, that the officers of the fort had done it without orders, for that they were only directed to fire at, and detain, a *Gomes* ship, whose master was indebted to the king. But the admiral being certainly informed, that this very ship was at the same time lying before the walls of the city of *Lisbon*, and that the master of her was ashore transacting his business, he let them know, in a manner which became a person in his post thus affronted, that if they offered to attempt any such thing again (for they had done it before to sir *John Leake*, as hath been already related) he would not stay for orders from his mistress, but take satisfaction by the mouth of his cannon. This declaration of sir *Claude*'s had a very proper effect; and, though it might not mend the principles of the *Portuguese* ministry, it contributed greatly, however, towards teaching them better manners.

UPON the return of colonel *Worsley*, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of *Galway*, that, unless he could bring earl *Rivers*, and the forces un-
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* Burchet's naval history, p. 729. This was of a piece with the treatment they gave sir John Leake, when he intended to have attempted the galleons.

der his command, and land them so as that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into as great confusion as they were in the winter before; whereby all the advantages would be lost which had been afterwards procured at so vast an expence, both of blood and treasure, by the maritime powers. These advices gave the admiral so much the more concern, as he knew that the ships were so much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their passage, that it was impossible to fix them speedily for sea; and that on the other hand, the land-forces were so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, there were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the king and the general's desire; the rather because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the mischief that had been done to his ships; directed the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the *Spanish* coast, and was on the very point of embarking the troops, when he was restrained by an order from *England*, of which we shall say more when we come to treat of the transactions of the ensuing year, to which it properly belongs.

I cannot pretend to say where the blame lay, as to the miscarriages that happened in Spain, the reader will perhaps be best able to judge by comparing Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, the earl of Galway's narrative, and the impartial enquiry into the wars there, which I have so often quoted.

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IN the mean time, captain *William Cony*, who commanded the *Romney*, a ship of fifty guns, having been dispatched, as we before observed, by sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, to cruize in those seas, and being then with the *Milford* and *Fowey*, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of *December*, that a *French* ship of sixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine brass cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ship commanded by *M. de Pointis*, and which he had run ashore when he fled from sir *John Leake*, lay at anchor under the cannon of *Malaga*, he resolved to go and attempt her; which design he put in execution, though one of the fifth rates was accidentally disabled, and the other separated from him, and sailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her anchors, notwithstanding all the fire they could make, and carried her safe into the harbour of *Gibraltar*. On the twenty sixth of the same month he chased, and came up with another *French* ship, called the *Content*, that carried sixty four guns. The captain of her, instead of attempting to fight the *English* ships, got as soon as he could under the cannon of a little castle, about eight leagues west of *America*, where he crept as close as it was possible to the shore. Captain *Cony* anchored before him, and ordered the *Milford* and *Fowey* to do the same, the one a-head, the other a-stern. They plied their guns for about three hours very briskly, and then the *French* ship took fire, blew up, and destroyed most of her men. This ship had been detached by *M. Villars*, to bring the before-mentioned ship from *Malaga*. Some time after captain *Cony* took another

French

* Burchet, Lediard; but both their accounts are taken from the London Gazette, No. 4298.

French ship, called the *Mercury*, of forty two guns, which the French king had lent the merchants, and which at their expence was fitted out as a privateer.

I should now proceed to resume the history of affairs in the *West-Indies*, but that there remains a remarkable action or two in *Europe*, which I think deserve notice, and therefore I have set them down here, in the close of the year, by themselves, not finding it so easy to reduce them to any particular service. On the nineteenth of *April*, the *Resolution*, a seventy-gun ship, commanded by captain *Mordaunt*, youngest son of the earl of *Peterborough*, having his father on board, and his catholick majesty's envoy to the duke of *Savoy*, fell in with six large ships of the enemy, in his passage to *Genoa*; the earl of *Peterborough* perceiving the danger, desired that himself, and the *Spanish* envoy, might be put on board a small frigate, called the *Enterprise*; for as he took his business then to be negotiating, not fighting, he was willing to escape to *Oneglia*, if it was possible, which according to his usual good fortune he was so lucky as to effect. The *Milford*, a fifth rate, which we have lately mentioned, was likewise with captain *Mordaunt*, but seeing the danger, ran from it, and escaped. On the twentieth the weather proved very bad, so that the *Resolution* was in part disabled, which gave the enemy an opportunity of coming up with her; upon which

captain

"Mr. secretary Burchet says, this happened on the 8th of July; but Mr. Lediard conjectured very rightly, that, instead of July, it should have been January; and so it appears by the account we have of this transaction in the Gazette, No. 4304, where the article is dated from Lisbon, February 9, N. S. which is one proof out of many of the wretched incorrectness of this naval history, as to dates, in which one would have expected from its author's station, remarkable regularity and exactness.

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captain *Mordaunt*, by advice of his officers, resolved to run her ashore, having received a great deal of damage in the engagement. About three in the afternoon he effected this, and ran her aground in a sandy bay, within a third of a cable's length of the land, and directly under the cannon of the castle of *Ventimiglia*, belonging to the *Genoise*, who notwithstanding gave them no assistance. About half an hour after four, captain *Mordaunt*, being disabled by a shot in his thigh, was carried on shore, but would not retire far from his ship; and about five the *French* commodore manned out all the boats of his squadron, in order to board the *Resolution*, under the fire of one of their seventy-guns ships, which plied ours warmly all the while, but the *Resolution*, even in the condition she was in, gave them such a reception, as obliged them to return to their respective ships. On the twenty first about half an hour past six in the morning, one of the enemy's ships of eighty guns weighing her anchor, brought to under the *Resolution*'s stern, and about nine a clock, a spring being put under the cable, she lay with her broadside towards her, while she at the same time looked with her head right into the shore, so that it was not possible to bring any more guns to bear upon the *French* ship, than those of her stern chase; and the others being within less than gun-shot, and the water coming into the *Resolution* as high as her gun-deck, captain *Mordaunt* sent to his officers for their opinion what was fitting to be done; and pursuant to their advice, he gave them directions to set her immediately on fire, which they did about eleven a clock, after the men were all put on shore; and by three in the afternoon she was burnt to the water's Edge w. IN

w Burchet, Lediard, compleat history of Europe, for the year 1706.

IN the month of *November*, a singular adventure happened to the *Lisbon* packet-boat, which was taken by a *Dunkirk* privateer of considerable force. The mate, who had the care of the packet, hid it when the privateer appeared first in sight, and being soon after killed, the captain threw over a chest of papers, with a weight of lead, just as the enemy boarded him, which they took for the mail, and therefore did not make so strict a search as otherwise they would have done. At sea they were separated from the privateer, which gave eleven *English* sailors an opportunity of rising upon fifteen *Frenchmen*, making themselves masters of the vessel, and carrying her into the *Texel*, where the government letters were happily found, sowed up in an oil-skin case, and thrown into a water-cask. We ended our last account of affairs in the *West-Indies* with the return of admiral *Graydon's* squadron from thence: it is now requisite that we should enter into a detail of what passed in those parts, from that time to the close of the year 1706.

THE Complaints which had been made in almost every session of parliament, of miscarriages and misdemeanors in the *West-Indies*, engaged the ministry to make choice of sir *William Whetstone* to go thither with a squadron of seven men of war, in order to settle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in those parts. He sailed accordingly with the trade in the spring of the year 1705, and arrived, on the seventh of *May*, safely at *Jamaica*. There he soon received intelligence, that a stout squadron of the enemies ships was on the

* London Gazette, No. 4278.

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the coast of *Hispaniola*, and that several rich ships were speedily expected from the coast of *New Spain*. Upon this, he ordered the squadron to be put in a posture of sailing as soon as possible, and having left a sufficient convoy for the protection of the homeward-bound fleet, he sailed, on the sixth of *June*, for the *Spanish* coast.

On the seventeenth of the same month, being then within sight of *Carthage*, he chased a ship, which in the night ran in among the *Sambay Keys*, where were very uncertain soundings and shoal water, insomuch, that the *Bristol*, a ship of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off with little or no damage; however, she came up with the *French* ship, and after two hours dispute with those that were nearest to her, she submitted. She had forty six guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and seventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty, unless it were a few they had put into prizes. She brought six hundred and forty negroes from *Guinea*, of which two hundred and forty died, and most of the rest were put on shore at *Martinico*, the island of *St. Thomas* and *Santa Martha*, for they had heard that a squadron of *English* ships, was in the *West-Indies*. The rear-admiral plying to the eastward, discovered off the river *Grande* two sail, close in with the land, one of which being forced on shore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at *Martinico*, to disturb our trade. The coast being thus alarmed, and no prospect of any immediate service, he returned to *Jamaica*; but appointed three of the best sailers to cruize twenty days off *Anigada*, in the windward-passage, for the *French* in their return home, it being the usual time for them to go from *Petit Guavas*, *Port de Paix*,

and other places; but those ships joined him again without any success^a.

ON his return to *Jamaica*, he had intelligence of a rich ship bound from *Carthagena* to *Port Lewis*, and in order to take this, he detached the *Montague* and the *Hector*, who though they missed their intended prize, brought in a *French* ship of twenty four guns, laden with sugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the same month, the rear-admiral put to sea, in order to cruize off *Hispaniola*, where he met with such a storm as forced him back to *Jamaica* in a very distressed condition. While the ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the *Montague*, a sixty gun ship, was sent to cruize on the coast of *Hispaniola*, where he met with two *French* ships, one of forty eight, the other of thirty six guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he lost them in the night. The next morning he had sight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement but his officers and seamen were not in the humour to fight, and so the *Frenchmen* escaped. The captain (whose name Mr. Burchet hath not thought fit to transmit to posterity, though for what reason I cannot imagine) on his return to *Jamaica*, complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers they were broke, as they well deserved, and many of his seamen punished^a. The admiral in the mean time, to rectify this mistake as far as he was able, sent two fourth rates, the *Bristol* and the *Folkstone*, in quest of them; they fell in with them and their convoy; they behaved very gallantly in seizing the defenceless merchant-men; but though

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 699. ^a Burchet, compleat history of Europe for 1766.

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though they had it absolutely in their power to have fought at least, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them slip through their hands, with half the fleet of merchant-men; for which scandalous neglect, the senior officer, whose name is again missing in mr. *Burchet's* history, but which I have reason to believe was *Anderson*, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable to serve at sea^b. I am very sorry that a more particular detail of these affairs cannot be had, because the support of history is the bestowing just praises on worthy men, and setting such a mark of disgrace on men of another character as they deserve. A little after these unlucky accidents, while the admiral was detained, for want of stores, at *Jamaica*, the *Suffolk*, where his flag was flying, by some unfortunate mistake or other, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where most of the men were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so burnt, that most of them died. When things were once more put in order, he sailed for the coast of *Hispaniola*, and had thoughts of stretching over again to the main, with a view to have sent the orders of his catholick majesty, king *Charles III.* to the governor of *Carthage*; but finding this impracticable, and himself much too weak to undertake any thing against the *French* in those seas, he returned again to *Jamaica*^c.

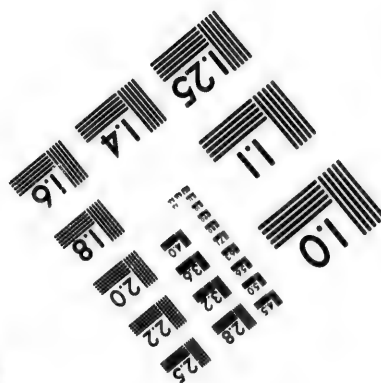
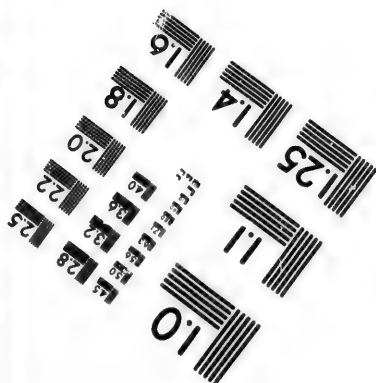
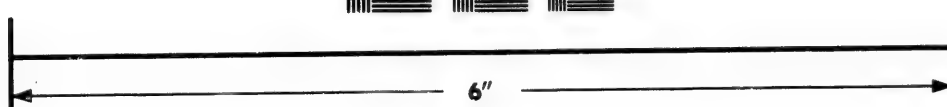
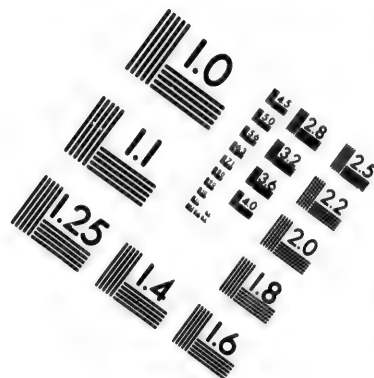
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^b Mr. Oldmixon, who was the author of the British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 314. gives us the following account. The Bristol and Folkestone, met with ten sail of merchant men, bound from Petit Guavas to France, under convoy of two French men of war, one of four and twenty, and another of thirty Guns, out of which, captain Anderson, commodore of the English, took six merchant-men, laden with sugar, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, admiral Whetstone held a court-martial, and captain Anderson, with the other officers, were condemned to lose their commissions for not engaging the French men of war.

^c Burchet, &c.





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I do not find in any of the accounts that I have met with, that sir *William Whetstone* was so much as suspected of being wanting in his duty; but so it was, that through neglects of our *Admiralty*, and a mercenary spirit in some of our governors of colonies, and captains of men of war, things were fallen into such distraction in the *West-Indies*, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's settlements, or able so much as to defend our own. The truth seems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year for the *Mediterranean*, and the cruizers that were necessary upon our own coasts, took up so many ships, that it was scarce possible to supply the demands of the *West-Indies* properly. The enemy, on the other hand, had some very signal advantages; for after sir *George Rooke* had taught them, that sea-fights were not for their advantage, they had recourse to their old trade of carrying on a pyratric war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ships, they were able to furnish out stout squadrons for this purpose. Add to all that has been said, the great concerns they had in the *West-Indies*, where now not only the *French*, but the *Spanish* Settlements were immediately under their care, and where, as *France* had the free use of the ports, so she had the direction also of the naval force of both nations, without which she could never have carried on the war ^a.

THE

^a I do not pretend to give the reader these reflections as my own, because I am very sensible that they have been made before by other writers. All the merit that I would assume, is, that of introducing them properly, and so as to prove what it certainly imports us much to know, that the *French* are as vigilant in making the most of every advantage, as we are generally backward in using such opportunities as our situation and naval force afford; for I think it may be justly said, that never any people had so many fine ships, and such a multitude of brave seamen, and yet employed them to so very little purpose.

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THE driving out the *English* from the *Leeward-islands*, was the point the *French* had most in view, and having a very exact account of our condition there, the governor of *St. Domingo*, *M. Iberville*, had orders to assist in an attempt that was to be made on *St. Christopher's*. It is in truth a very difficult thing to give a fair account of this matter, since the *French* magnify it, and such of our writers as have taken any notice of it, have done all they could to lessen and disparage it. The most probable relation that I have met with amongst many, sets the affair in this light. The count *de Chauvagnac*, with a small squadron of *French* men of war, attacked the island of *St. Christopher's* in the month of *March*, where they burnt and plundered several plantations; but when they came to attack the castle, they were repulsed with loss. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at last, if the governor of *Barbadoes*, on intelligence of what had happened, had not sent down thither a sloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a squadron from *England* was coming to his relief. This reaching the ears of the *French*, as it was intended it should, they embarked in haste, after having done a great deal of mischief; but nothing comparable to what the *French* writers say*. But unluckily for us, before count *de Chauvagnac* sailed, count *Iberville* joined him with his squadron, so that they had now five stout men of war, some frigates, and twenty sloops, with which they re-

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solved

* Father Daniel, in his journal of the reign of *Lewis XIV.* p. 236. computes the plunder of *St. Christopher's*, at 3,000,000 of *French* money, or 150,000 pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; especially, if the *French* retired in some kind of consternation; and that they did is pretty certain, since the count *de Chavagnac* was questioned about it when he returned to *France*.

solved to attack *Nevis*. They landed in *Green-Bay* in the evening of the twenty second of the same month, which was *Good Friday*; and they pushed their success so briskly, that by the twenty-fourth, which was *Easter Sunday*, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promised to deliver up all their negroes, and to procure a number of prisoners, equal to that of themselves, to be set at liberty in *Europe*, in consideration of their not being taken off the island. Our Gazette says, that the *French* broke these articles, by treating them barbarously, burning their houses and sugar-works, and other actions of the like nature. But other accounts say, that the inhabitants could not comply with their capitulation, because the negroes retired into the mountains, stood on their defence, and, when attacked, killed a great number of the *French*. Upon this the inhabitants came to a new agreement on the sixth of *April*, in which they undertook to deliver to the *French*, in less than six months, one thousand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thousand pieces of eight; upon which the *French* retired, carrying off with them most of the effects, and a great number of negroes, but fewer certainly than seven thousand, as a *French* historian computes them^f. A little after this unfortunate accident, commodore *Ker* arrived with a considerable force in the *Leeward-Islands*, and having stationed several ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for *Jamaica*, which was then thought to be in danger from the junction of *Iberville's* squadron with that of *Ducasse* &c. IN

^f Most of these particulars I have drawn from a private letter written by a planter, but ten days after the last capitulation. The inquisitive reader may consult the Gazette, No. 4241. Burchet, the compleat history of Europe for 1706, and the British empire in America. Histoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 212. Burchet, Oldmixon.

IN the mean time rear-admiral *Whetstone* sailed with a few ships from *Jamaica*, in hopes of attacking *Ducasse*, before he was joined by the succours he expected. But this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to *Jamaica* about the middle of *July*, and towards the latter end of the same month was joined by commodore *Ker*, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of blotting out the memory of past mistakes, and worthy of the *British* nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to *Carthagena*, where they knew the galleons were, in order to try what effects king *Charles's* letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in *Europe*, to own him for his rightful sovereign in *America*. With this view sir *William Whetstone* and captain *Ker* sailed from *Jamaica* on the eighth of *August*, and on the eighteenth arrived before *Carthagena*, and sent in a packet to the governor. At first he trifled a little, and gave evasive answers, but when more closely pressed, he declared roundly, that he knew no other prince than *Philip V.* and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of *Bocca Chica* castle, and the other forts, and even in that case it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in. Then it was taken into consideration, what further service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to *Jamaica*:

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maica:

^a Burchet, Lodiard, British empire in America.

maica; from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore *Ker* to remain behind in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the *West-Indies*. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and upon their return, sir *William* made all possible dispatch in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the island the latter end of *October*, he arrived at *Plymouth* on the twenty third of *December*, 1706, with the *Suffolk*, *Bristol*, *Reserve*, and *Vulcan* fire-ship, and a fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been long abroad, and performed little, though no man in the service had shewn a greater spirit of activity, before his being sent on this *West-India* expedition¹.

THE squadron, which commodore *Ker* brought into the *West-Indies*, consisted of six ships of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ship. With this force he stretched over from *Jamaica* to the coast of *Hispaniola*, from thence to the main, where he cruized till the fourth of *September*; and then the winds proving northerly, he returned to *Hispaniola*, on the coast of which island he held a council of war, in order to determine, whether it might not be practicable to surprize *Port Lewis*? but the pilots not being well acquainted with the entrance into that port, it was resolved to proceed directly to *Petit Guavas*, and to go to the northward of the island of *Guanaua*, in order the better to prevent their design from being discovered. On the thirteenth of *September* he detached captain *Boyce*, in the *Dunkirk* prize, with all the boats in the squadron manned and armed, with orders to range along the bays

¹ London Gazette, No. 4292. Pointer's chronological history, compleat history of Europe for 1707.

of *Leogane* and *Petit Guavas*, in the night, with all imaginable care and caution, and so to dispose themselves as that they might destroy the enemy's ships in either of those roads, and be able to return to the squadron next morning on a signal given. But how well soever this scheme might be laid, it miscarried through the ill conduct of some of the officers, who running in too near the shore, alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that any farther attempt was rendered impracticable.

UPON this disappointment, commodore *Ker* returned to *Jamaica* in order to refit his vessels, and to repair the damage he had sustained in this unfortunate expedition. But while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a new and greater evil, occasioned by a mortality which prevailed among the seamen, and that to such a degree, as in a manner disabled him from any further service. The merchants, however, who suffered for want of ships to protect them, losing abundance of sloops, laden with silver, upon the *Spanish* coasts, began to complain loudly of the commodore's conduct, and even went so far, as to send home an agent, who had instructions to lay the matter before the house of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a censure, in consequence of which he was laid aside. In the mean time the command in the *West-Indies* fell into the hands of sir *John Jennings*, who had been detached for that purpose, with a considerable squadron from the *Straits*. But as his proceedings belong to the succeeding year, we must refer the reader to the last volume, for an account of them.

* Burchet, Lediard, *histoire de St. Domingue*. I thought it more expedient to take notice of this matter here, than postpone it absolutely, till we come to speak of the proceedings of par-

WE must, before we leave *Jamaica*, take notice of a disappointment the enemy met with in attacking *Carolina*. The *French* had long had their eyes on our northern colonies, which were then in a very flourishing condition; amongst other projects that *M. Iberville* had been furnished with, one was the attacking, and as far as it should be in his power, destroying the province of *Carolina*. When therefore he had finished his designs in the *Leeward-Islands* he sailed with a squadron of six men of war, and several transports for *South Carolina*. He made a descent in the neighbourhood of *Charles-Town* with about eight hundred and fifty soldiers and seamen, and sent an officer to summon the governor to surrender the city and colony to the *French* king, telling him at the same time, that he would allow him but an hour to consider of it. *Sir Henry Johnson* told him, that was much too long a space, for that he did not want half a minute to resolve on doing his duty; and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell those that sent him, that the *English* were not to be frightened with words, for they should soon find, that they were able to return blows. Upon this followed an attack, in which the *French* met with so vigorous a resistance, that they were glad to retreat with the loss of three hundred killed, drowned, or taken; and among the latter ten officers, viz. their chief commander at land, his lieutenant, three captains of ships, four lieutenants, and a master, who together offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransoms. One of the *French* ships having ventured to make a descent at the distance of six miles from *Charles-Town*, the governor sent a detachment of militia to the assistance

of
parliament in the year 1707, where we shall however be obliged to resume it, and where the reader will have a more particular account of what the offences were, with which this gentleman was charged.

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of the planters, who were so lucky as to make themselves masters of the ship, with all its crew, which consisted of about one hundred and forty men ^m.

THE *French* had also some designs upon *New York*, of which we had so early intelligence in *England*, that lord *Cornbury*, eldest son to the earl of *Clarendon*, was sent over to take upon him the government; and he finding all things in great confusion, and the few fortresses in that country running to ruin, first obtained from the assembly a considerable supply for that service, and then ordered a general embargo to be laid, which enabled him to employ fifteen hundred men, in working on their fortifications; so that they were in a very short time put into a good posture of defence, and all the views of the enemy disappointed on that side. We had not, however, as great success in bringing home the *Virginia* fleet, part of which fell into the hands of the *French* privateers, and the rest were separated by a storm, which occasioned great apprehensions and uneasinesses about them; but most of them, notwithstanding, arrived at last safe in the western ports. The merchants, however, raised loud complaints against the *Admiralty*, who had now, in a great measure, lost their interest in the house of commons; so that whatever charges were brought against them, they had all the encouragement that could be expected, and the merchants were left at full liberty to produce their witnesses, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no remedy to these mischiefs, yet it took the weight off the ministry

^m See the compleat history of Europe for the year 1706. p. 548, and the *Mercure historique*, 1707, vol. i. p. 99. Father *Daniel* takes not the least notice of the matter, and indeed, few or none of the *French* historians have courage enough to report fairly their defeats.

nistry, and gave the nation general satisfaction, as all enquiries, strictly and impartially prosecuted, ever must^a.

We are now, according to the method hitherto pursued in this work, to give the reader an account of the measures taken for the supplying the service of the succeeding year; and this, the success attending the war both by sea and land, enables us to do in a very short space. The queen opened the sessions on the third of *December*, 1706, with a most gracious speech, wherein she took notice of what had been already done, and of the reasons which obliged her to desire, that as great dispatch as possible might be given to the supplies; and how much weight her majesty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no less than five millions eight hundred ninety three thousand three hundred eighty one pounds fifteen shillings and three pence three farthings, yet they were voted in less than a week; so that the queen came on the twenty first to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons, the speaker presented the bills, and in his speech on that occasion, took notice, "That as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies, was so surprizing, that the battle was fought before it could be thought the armies could be in the field, so it was no less surprizing, that the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that her parliament was sitting^o."

THIS care of the public thus shewn, the house went into the consideration of the several expeditions executed within the compass of the preceding year, and after a long

^a Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne. ^o See Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 47.

long debate, on the twenty seventh of *January*, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in *Spain*, it was carried on the question by a majority of two hundred and fifty against one hundred and fifty, that the several sums of money, for the extraordinary services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by this house, had been advanced and expended for the preservation of the duke of *Savoy*, for the interest of king *Charles III.* in *Spain* against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. Not long after, the house proceeded to take into consideration the report from the committee, to whom the petition of several proprietors of plantations in the islands of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's* in *America*, and other merchants trading to the same, on behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants and traders to the said islands, was referred, and the same being read, it was resolved, " That an humble address be presented " to her majesty, that she will be pleased to appoint such " persons, as her majesty shall think fit, to enquire into " the true state of the losses of the people of the islands of " *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's*, in order to lay the same " before this house the next session of parliament, to apply " what may be convenient for the better securing those " islands, and supplying them with necessaries in order to " a resettlement." The said address being presented accordingly, her majesty was pleased to answer, " That she " was very well pleased to find the house of commons had " so compassionate a sense of the losses of her subjects in " *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's*; as also with the concern " they shewed upon this occasion for the plantations " which were so justly entitled to their care, by the large " returns they made to the public; and her majesty would " give the necessary orders for what the house had desired " in that matter." Accordingly her majesty was after-

wards pleased to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the said islands, to procure an exact state of the losses of her subjects there, in order to their being put on such a footing, as might be best for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of these kingdoms p.

THE house having had notice of the great declension of our interest in, and trade to *Newfoundland*, the marquise of *Caermarthen* having likewise acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous settlement at *Madagascar*, where they threatened to erect a kind of thievish republic, little inferior to those on the coast of *Barbary*; and having offered to go himself with a small squadron to put an end to this mischief while there was room left for doing it, the house appointed a committee to take these matters into their consideration; who, after having thoroughly examined them, came to the following resolutions q.

“ I. THAT a great number of pirates have settled themselves in the island of *Madagascar*, from whence they have committed many great piracies, robberies, and depredations, very ruinous to trade, and whereby the lives of many of her majesty's good subjects have been destroyed.

“ II. THAT an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to take into her royal consideration, how the said pirates may be suppressed, and their further piracies, robberies, and depredations, may be effectually prevented.” Which resolutions were on the 8th of *April* agreed to by the house.

The

p Compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne, Chandler's debates.
q Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 67.

The same day it was resolved, "That an humble address
" be presented to her majesty, that she will be graciously
" pleased to use her royal endeavours to recover and pre-
" serve the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery, in *New-*
" *foundland*."

HER majesty received these addresses very graciously, and promised that proper care should be taken with respect to the matters contained in them: And thus ended the proceedings of this session of parliament, with which I shall conclude the events of this winter.

WE have now run through the naval transactions of about eighteen years, in which short space there happened so many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power increased to such a degree, that it is with no small difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compass. But a bare relation of events will very little benefit ordinary readers, if they are not attended with some few reflections, in order to point out the advantages and disadvantages which' beset society in consequence of these transactions. The two wars, in which we were engaged in conjunction with the *Dutch*, as they demonstrated on the one hand our mighty power at sea, so on the other they put us to a mighty expence. The house of commons in the year 1702, in a representation to the queen, say expressly, that from *November* 1688, to *March* the eighth, 1701, there had been raised for the service of the war, forty five millions five hundred sixty eight thousand seven hundred twenty five pounds nineteen shillings and two-pence halfpenny, an immense sum indeed! As to the expences of queen *Anne's* war, we shall take notice of them when we come to the conclusion of it: at present let us observe, that one national end, with respect to *England*, was, in this last war particularly, in a great measure answered, I mean the de-
struction

struction of the *French* power at sea; for after the battle of *Alalaga*, we hear no more of their great fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much encreased, yet the losses of our merchants were far less in the latter, than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a series of enquiries constantly carried on either in one house of parliament or the other.

THE success of our arms at sea, and the necessity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every step taken towards the encreasing our maritime power, occasioned such measures to be pursued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great storm in 1703, the misfortunes that so many squadrons met with in the *West Indies*, our ill luck in regard to the *Dunkirk* Privateers, and in short every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private persons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our marine, inasmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence arose that mighty difference which, at the close of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but the quality of the ships of which it was composed, was greatly superior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it. The economy and discipline of our marine, was also much mended, and those jealousies in a great measure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greatest merit, during the preceding reign, as they certainly were in the latter part of this, when they were most unfortunately revived. The great encouragement given to the sailors, by taking the utmost care of the sick and wounded, exact and speedy paying of prize-money, and the many extraordinary orders that from time to time were issued in their favour, and are still to be met with in our *Gazettes*,
from

from whence some of them have been cited in this work, gave a mighty spirit to our sailors, and in a manner extinguished that prejudice which has since revived against going to sea in a man of war. Thus, in this respect, whatever we might do in others, the nation certainly thrived by the war, that is to say, we grew constantly stronger, our fleets more numerous and better manned; so that at the time I conclude this volume, we were much more capable of asserting our claim to the dominion of the sea, than at the time the war began.

If any of my readers should entertain a doubt, either as to the truth of the facts here laid down, or the solidity of the judgment I have delivered upon them, I think I need only turn him over, for satisfaction, to foreign authors; for certainly, if they concur in sentiment with me on this head, there ought to be no dispute about it. But if we dip into any of the *French* political writers, we shall not fail to find them deploring the visible decay of their maritime power, from the time of the battle of *Malaga*, and constantly blaming the administration, for not bending their thoughts to the recovery of it so much as they ought to have done; which they, generally speaking, ascribe to the vast expence of the war by land, which would not, by any means, admit the diverting such supplies as were necessary for the service of the sea. From these complaints, which are certainly well founded, it is manifest that, on the one hand, their maritime power declined, whilst ours encreased; and on the other, that this declension grew so fast upon them, that their ablest ministers thought it in vain to struggle, and therefore gave up all further concern for their reputation in this respect, in a fit of despair, out of which nothing but our inactivity or negligence would recover them.

To this I may add, that as the *Spanish* naval power had been long decaying, so by this war it was totally destroyed; they had indeed a few galleys in the battle of *Malaga*, and it may be half a dozen men of war in the *West In-*

dies; but upon the whole, they had such occasion for ships of force, and had so few of them, that the assistance given them by the *French*, contributed not a little to the declension of their marine, as appears by the destruction of their men of war at *Vigo*, which was a loss they were never able to repair; and though it be very true, that whilst *Spain* was governed by a prince of the house of *Austria*, and lived in amity with us, we were rather bound to encourage and protect, than any way to lessen or depress the *Spanish* power at sea; yet by the passing of this crown into the house of *Bourbon*, our Interest, in this respect, was entirely changed, and the lessening their maritime strength was a comparative augmentation of our own; and this I take to be the principal reason, that through the course of the war, *France* complained so much of the burden of *Spain*. For though by the returns of her plate-fleets, and letting the *French* for a time share in the trade of the *South-Seas*, she might repair that loss of treasure, which the maintaining so many armies for her service might occasion, yet the loss of that maritime power, which was now to protect both states, was a loss that never could be repaired, as reason informed all wise people then, and as we have been taught by experience since.

It may, perhaps, be said, that as the *Dutch* were concerned in this war as well as we, as they shared jointly in the dangers and expences of it, so they must have been equally gainers in respect to their trade and maritime power. But as to this it is most evident, that the *French*, according to the information they have received from the most intelligent *Dutchmen*, take the thing to be quite otherwise, and argue on it to the *Dutch* themselves, as if it was a fact cut of dispute, from whence they take occasion to alledge, that while the *English* made a pretence of ruining the maritime power of *France*, they, in reality, aimed at doing as much for the *Dutch*, in order to secure universal trade, and the supreme power of the sea, to themselves. How far the fortune

fortune of war might put this in our power, I will not say, but this I will venture to assert, and hope it will be readily credited, that such a thing was never in our intention. The supplanting allies, is a strain of policy common to the *French*, but, without partiality I may say, unknown to the *Britons*. We have fought for our allies, and conquered for our allies; nay, we have sometimes paid our allies for fighting in their own cause, and for their own profit; but to over-reach our allies, especially our good allies the *Dutch*, was, I dare say, never in our will, or in our power. This indeed I must own, that in the conduct of this last war, especially to the year 1706, we had as much the lead in councils as ever the *Dutch* had in the former war; for this we paid largely, and, I think, we had a right to it, if we got any thing by it. I must also ingenuously confess, that the oeconomy of the *Dutch* greatly hurt their reputation and their trade. Their men of war in the *Mediterranean* were always victualled short, and their convoys were so weak and ill provided, that for one ship we lost, they lost five, which begat a general notion, that we were safer carriers, that certainly had a good effect. So that, taking all things together, I doubt whether the credit of the *English* nation abroad, or the spirits of the people at home, were ever higher than at this period of time.

HENCE it was, that our trade rather encreased than diminished in this last war, and that we gained so signally by our strict intercourse with *Portugal*; concerning which I will take the liberty of running over a few facts that are not commonly attended to. When the war first broke out, *Portugal* was allied to the two crowns; and with great difficulty it was that we detached that monarch from their interest: but the means by which we detached him, ought not to remain a secret. In the treaty he concluded with *Lewis XIV.* and his grandson, he had stipulated that he should be protected by an annual fleet from *France*; but when he found that this could not be complied with, and that if he performed his part of the agreement, his coast

would be left open to the insults of the maritime powers, he saw the necessity of changing his party, which induced him to make a treaty with us in 1703; and when the French Minister, *M. de Châteauneuf*, reproached him for thus changing sides, *Don Pedro* replied, with great spirit “If your master had sent thirty ships of the line to cruize between *Lisbon* and *Setubal*, I had never quitted his alliance; and therefore I would have you let him know, that he ought to blame himself, not me, for the consequences.” By the treaty of commerce concluded with the same crown by *mr. Methuen*, we were prodigious gainers; and I will even venture to say, that this single alliance was worth more to us, than all the negotiations in the former reign. The Portuguese began to feel the comfortable effects of the mines they had discovered in *Brazil*, and the prodigious commerce that followed thereupon with us, made their good luck, in this respect, in a great measure ours also; and so it has been ever since, otherwise I know not how the expences of the war could have been born: for as doctor *Davenant* justly computed the running cash of this kingdom, at the time the revolution happened, could not be above eighteen millions; at the accession of the queen we had not so much; but at the time of concluding the union it was encreased again very considerably, which must be attributed in a great measure to our *Portugal* trade; and this, as I have made it manifest, we owed entirely to our superiour power at sea.

As to our trade with the *Spanish West-Indies*, by the canal of *Cadiz*, it was certainly very much interrupted by the war at the beginning; but afterwards it was in a good measure restored, as well by our direct correspondence with *Spain*, after the reduction of several provinces under the power of king *Charles III.* as thro’ *Portugal*, by which a very great, though contraband, trade was carried on. We were at the same time very great gainers by our trade with the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, as I am satisfied from several French

French authors, who complain that their colonies suffered much less from our naval force, than they did from the loss of this trade; which is strongly confirmed by the complaints of the *Jamaica* merchants against commodore *Ker*, who was very negligent in protecting their sloop trade, by which they were great sufferers. The reason they assign also for his negligence, is yet a stronger proof; for they alledge, that he would not grant them convoys, without sharing in their profits; and if these had not been very considerable, they could never have tempted an officer of his rank to run such a risque. The same thing may be said of the complaints of the other colonies, which, however just in themselves, yet if they, as evident it is they did, grew richer, more populous, and carried their trade farther than in former times, then it is surely as evident, that the nation in general gained considerably in this branch; to which I may add, that the act for giving a bounty upon hemp imported from our plantations, and other laws, were sufficient instances of the inclination of the ministry to promote commerce and navigation as far as it lay in their power.

THERE is another remark that naturally arises upon this subject, and that is the mighty spirit which appeared amongst our merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their schemes with such vigour, as kept a constant circulation of money through the kingdom, and afforded such mighty encouragement to all manufactures, as have rendered the remembrance of those times grateful in worse. Our successes abroad, our victories by land and sea, the respect paid to us by all the states of *Europe*, served to heighten and sustain this spirit, which is at once the source and soul of prosperity, and a nation grows low and lifeless, as soon as it is taken away. There were indeed some accidental advantages which attended the latter part, especially of this period, that have not been always visible in preceeding or succeeding times. Amongst these I reckon, in the first place,

place, an unfeigned loyalty; for it was the felicity of this princess, that her person was dear to all her subjects, nay, even to those who questioned her title; and this produced another advantage, which was a kind of coalition of parties, of which I rather chuse to say something at the end of this volume, because after the union, parties broke loose, again and threw us, as they will always do, into the utmost confusion. At the beginning of the war, the tories were as heartily for it as the whigs, and if they grew weary of it by degrees, it must be acknowledged, that they might be tempted thereto in some respects by the ill usage they met with. While the duke of *Marlborough* was esteemed a tory, his services were often extenuated, and though the parliament gave him thanks, there was a party that denied him merit. When he and the treasurer went over to the whigs, the scale turned so strongly in their favour, that none could be employed who were not of this denomination; and thus Sir *George Rooke* was laid aside immediately after he had gained a victory, honourable in every respect, but most honourable in this, that it was wholly owing to the prudence and conduct of the admiral. Before the whigs gained this ascendancy, and both parties were embarked in the cause of their country, their unanimity produced those supplies, which enabled our armies and fleets to act as they did; and taught the most haughty and faithless of all powers, that bounds might be set to its force, though not to its ambition. The last advantage I shall speak of, was the public spirit of parliaments in the queen's reign. If they gave in one session, they enquired in the next, and it is impossible to mention any remarkable expedition within the first six years, which was not examined and cleared up by such enquiries; so that the people saw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay cheerfully, at the same time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their industry what might maintain them happily, notwithstanding these large, but necessary expences.

It

It is certainly matter of great satisfaction to me, and must be so to every man who wishes well to his country, that after running through a series of such events, setting out at first with the sight of so great a naval power as the *French* King had assembled, while we struggled under many difficulties ; and when we got out of that troublesome war, found ourselves loaded with a debt too heavy to be shaken off in a short interval of peace : it must, I say, be a great satisfaction to be able, at the close of this volume, to assert, that we had overcome all these difficulties ; and, instead of seeing the navy of *France* riding on our coasts, sent every year a powerful fleet to insult theirs, superior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the *Mediterranean*, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the sea ; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the distant prospect of our flag ; as at the raising the siege of *Barcelona*, when the son of the *French* king, the famous count de *Thoulouse*, high admiral of *France*, fled from Sir *John Leake*, and took shelter in the harbour of *Toulon*.

By this, we not only secured our trade in the *Levant*, and strengthened our interest with all the *Italian* princes, but struck the states of *Barba.* with terror, and even awed the grand signior himself, so far as to prevent his listening to any propositions from *France*. Such were the fruits of the increase of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed ; and, though some through misconception of the advantages flowing from this disposition in those princes and states ; and some again, from a perverse humour, perhaps of objecting against whatever carried us into a great expence, inweighed against sending such mighty fleets into those seas ; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, such fleets were necessary ; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our interest ;
and

and which is of greater importance than all the rest, that they established our reputation for maritime force, so effectually, that we feel even at this day, the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what consequence therefore could the expences of these fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? especially if we consider, that the greatest part of it only shifted hands, since it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that, tho' they rise ever so high, they can hardly ever impoverish, because they are raised on one part of the society, and laid out with the other, and by a natural circulation, must certainly very soon return into the first hands.

It is a further satisfaction, that we can safely say, our trade flourished through the course of the war, and our merchants were so loyal to the queen, and so well affected to her government, that upon every occasion they were ready to credit the administration with the best part of that immense wealth that had been raised under their protection. These were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious, and for all these mighty advantages, we stood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wisdom and probity of her ministers; the heroic courage and generous public spirit of the officers she employed, by land and sea; and above all to the sincere union of parties amongst us, the contempt of private advantages, and a steady concern for the safety, reputation, and future prosperity of this nation. May the remembrance and example of these virtues, have some effect, even upon this degenerate age! let us resolve to imitate our ancestors, or at least let us not reflect dishonour on their achievements, by calling ourselves there posterity.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

